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ABSTRACT

Eight articles which explore areas of interest to teachers of anthropology are presented. Three lead articles investigate the application of anthropological concepts and methods to educational institutions, formal and nonformal, outside the United States. In the first paper, demographic socialization as a field of anthropological inquiry is discussed and recommendations for the development of research techniques are presented. The second paper is a case study which provides information on ethnic stereotyping in Nigerian public schools. The third paper presents a discussion of the impact of formal schools on peasant communities in the Peruvian highlands. The fourth, fifth, and sixth papers investigate possibilities for employment of anthropologists in field work, public school teaching, and educational planning. The seventh paper describes the experiences of an anthropologist in the public schools of Dallas, Texas, and relates various capacities in which an anthropologist can serve a public school system. The final article discusses contract ethnography and accountability in anthropological fieldwork. Professional news, material on teaching anthropology at the college level, and a bibliography of recent anthropological publications are included. (Author/DB)

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[Ed. Note: *The three lead articles in this issue suggest that the Council on Anthropology and Education is interested in the application of anthropological concepts and methods to educational institutions, both formal and informal, outside the political borders of the United States. Two of the Council's standing committees, numbers 5 and 10, direct their attention to specific concerns outside the U.S. Additionally, CAE readership abroad amounts to 137, distributed as follows: Canada, 66; Asia, 9; Latin America, 14; Europe, 12; South Pacific and Australia, 13; Africa, 2; Near East and North Africa, 21. We hope future issues of the Quarterly will contain articles of interest from some of these international scholars.*]

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DEMOGRAPHIC SOCIALIZATION: DIRECT AND INDIRECT

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In view of the dramatic significance accorded to population processes by social scientists in the past few years, it is somewhat surprising that so little attention has been paid to the manner in which human beings learn about demographic events. It would seem that the way that people come to conceptualize such events as childbirth, residential movement, and death is of critical importance for programs oriented toward affecting their demographic behavior; yet the literature dealing with such learning is sparse indeed. The emergent field dealing with these issues has been labeled "population socialization," which has recently been defined as encompassing:

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> *"... the various processes through which persons at all stages of the life cycle become oriented to matters directly or indirectly related to population. It includes the areas of population communication and population education, but is much broader than these in scope since it also deals with unplanned ways in which persons learn about population facts, attitudes, values, norms, and behavior."*[1]

Within the scope of this definition, we might do well to distinguish the informal processes by which "folk demographies" are developed from the more formally organized processes associated with the concepts of "population communication" and "population education," which I regard as essentially synonymous.[2] The latter sub-fields are primarily concerned with strategies and techniques for effectively transmitting information about demographic processes to target populations. They are oriented toward change with varying emphases, depending upon the degree to which motivational or cognitive restructuring is conceived as the goal. At one extreme are programs that focus almost entirely on changing motivation, with the aim of altering demographic behavior in a direction prescribed by the "educators." Those of us who see in such programs an unpalatable assault on people's values and lifeways are not surprised, and may indeed be somewhat gleeful, when the propaganda fail to achieve their goals. At the other end of the spectrum are those programs that emphasize the transmission of information with demographic relevance, with the aim of bringing to awareness the presumed relationships between population phenomena and other values and conceptions held by a people. A recent working definition offered by UNESCO exemplifies this approach:

> *"Population education may be defined as the educational process which assists individuals and groups to learn the probable causes and consequences of population phenomena for themselves and their communities (including the world); to define for themselves the nature of the problems*

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related to population processes, population size and distribution and population composition; and to assess the possible and effective means by which the society as a whole and they as individuals and/or members of groups may be able to respond to and influence these processes to enhance the quality of life, now and in the future."[3]

The same working document suggests for consideration two general goals for population education, one relating primarily to the educational system and the other to the population situation:

(a) "The general goal of population education in relation to the population situation is suggested to be: to help learners understand how population processes, population size, distribution and composition, affect the society and the individual, and to help learners develop the knowledge and skills necessary to evaluate the impact of population changes as well as the impact of personal and public decisions affecting population trends; thus, the learners are enabled to make personally and socially responsible population related decisions.

(b) "The general goals of population education in relation to the educational system is suggested to be: to assist with and contribute to the processes of educational renovation and innovation through the introduction of possibly new contents, and new methodologies."[4]

These are goals that I believe most anthropologists interested in education or population can relate to without strain, and that might be used to prompt some serious thinking about the potential research contributions they could make toward such an end. The main outcome of such an endeavor can be labeled "population efficacy," an understanding of how one's ecological system operates, along with a sense of competence and acquisition of the skills required to affect the system.[5]

Although schools come to mind as the obvious institution for assuming the responsibility for developing population efficacy, "there is very little evidence to suppose that schooling systems are presently potent population socializing agencies, or that they can be made so in any rapid or facile way."[6] One solution is to use out-of-school agencies and institutions as arenas for population education, to complement if not substitute for in-school programs. But there is a more basic problem that we must confront, and that is the way in which conceptualization of population phenomena articulate with traditional folk demographies. J.A. Johnson has recently stated this problem in a succinct manner:

"In traditional societies there is considerable pressure exerted upon the young to conform. In providing a more objective view of population phenomena we are, in effect, asking the young to make decisions contrary to long-established social norms. We are seeking to socialize outside of the context of the society. This is no minor problem and to complicate the matter there is a related difficulty. How valid is the educator's objective view of population, given that in so many (less) developed societies there may be few real trade-offs in terms of quality of life benefits which may accrue to the young even were they to make more objective population decisions?"[7]

Johnson concludes that without a better research base to establish the nature of children's folk demography and the "hidden population curricula" to which they are exposed in schools, we are in danger of building syllabi of instruction which lack real relevance to the learner.[8] Research into the formation of folk demographies is also essential if we are to avoid exacerbating problems of social and cultural conflict produced by the introduction of externally-derived population content. To some extent this problem is minimized by emphasizing informational content rather than attempting to directly aim at motivational and value change, but even in its purest forms the manner in which such information is presented generally has powerful value-laden overtones. Thus, the same basic information can be presented in a pedagogical framework that challenges a learner's basic propositions about the world and the way it works or builds upon them. But if we are to build upon underlying premises, and hence minimize conflict, we must first discover what they are and how they were learned.

I do not wish to belabor the need for research into the processes by which folk demographies are formed—processes I would choose to incorporate under the label "demographic socialization." Let me simply point out that in a recent review of research in this field, Susan Gustavus noted that:

"Within this broad range of potential topics (the learning of attitudes, facts on behaviors relevant to fertility, mortality, migration, population size, composition, growth, or distribution), the empirical literature to date has emphasized fertility attitude learning, or more specifically, factors related to the formation of family size preferences among children and adolescents. The processes of factual learning about population, methods for transmittal of behaviors, and the learning of attitudes toward migration, mortality, or related cultural phenomena have all been relatively neglected."[9]

A Framework for the Study of Demographic Socialization

As a way of introducing our discussion of demographic socialization as a field for inquiry, I would like to present a concept of culture that may prove useful,

given our previous formulation of the problem. I conceive of culture as an assemblage of propositions about the nature of the world in which people live. The most elementary propositions concern categorical distinctions (which phenomena are to be classified as alike, which different). The distinction between male and female is a universal example. A secondary set of propositions concerns relationships between categorically distinct phenomena. One type of relational proposition concerns attributes of categories; for example, the statement "men are strong" is a proposition about the relationship between the category men and a physical or psychological concept. Another type of relational proposition concerns relationships between categories perceived as directly interactive. In the example we are pursuing these would include prescriptions and proscriptions for behavior as well as beliefs about the effects of interaction between men and women on the participants. At still more complex levels are propositions about the effects upon a relationship of other relationships, culminating in a set of propositions that place a relationship in a complex system (e.g., the division of labor between men and women is an integral part of a social system involving specific relationships between a population and its environment, a political economy, etc.). One further type of proposition needs to be mentioned and it is of prime importance for our concerns. This is the domain of meta-propositions, or a set of propositions about the formation of propositions, including concerns about the legitimacy of various propositions. The scientific method is, of course, an example of a meta-propositional set but there are obviously other ways for establishing the acceptability of a proposition, including its acceptability (or unacceptability) to other persons, its consistency with other acceptable propositions, its opposition to unacceptable propositions, and so on.

Now, in defining culture as an "assemblage of propositions" as distinct from a "system," I am purposely choosing to emphasize the variation that exists within any population concerning acceptable beliefs. Indeed, if I were to describe all the acceptable propositions about any class of phenomena for a population consisting of two or more persons, I would find a proportion that are shared and a proportion that are unique to sub-sets or even to individuals. Also, we typically find propositions that appear to be contradictory, even within the same individual. In stating this, I do not mean to deny that systematic sets of propositions exist, only that to assume so is likely to be misleading. There are a great many other issues raised by the propositional approach to culture but space does not permit me to address them here. Instead, I would like to consider some aspects of demographic socialization from this viewpoint.

Let me begin by defining socialization as the process by which information is transmitted to individuals, leading to the formation of propositions about the world in which they live or the modification of propositions already held. Demographic socialization then refers to processes that generate or modify propositions about demographic events and processes. I would further like to distinguish "direct" socialization (the explicit presentation to an individual of propositions concerning demographic events and processes) from "indirect" socialization (the transmission of information which does not directly implicate demographic phenomena but from which propositions about them are formed).

Direct demographic socialization can therefore be thought of as the transmission of messages about birth, residential mobility, and death, the major events in the demographic trilogy. At the elementary level, these messages provide a set of categorical distinctions (e.g., types of birth, such as "premature," or "cesarean"); at the secondary level are messages about the relationship of these events to other conceptualized entities (e.g., "premature births are dangerous," a proposition relating that type of birth to a set of potential health outcomes). An exploration of all propositions explicitly presented to an individual relating each demographic event (childbirth, residential movement, death) to other conceptualizations would constitute a description of that person's direct demographic socialization. The content, extensiveness, and complexity of direct demographic socialization is variable within every differentiated group and is associated with such variables as exposure to elaborate versus restricted codes in the family, school, peer group, and the like.[10] Typically, individuals are exposed to contradictory propositions (e.g., a pregnant woman is beautiful; a pregnant woman is ugly) that they may or may not resolve with an encompassing proposition. There is much more to be said about direct demographic socialization but let us go on to a consideration of the indirect processes, which are generally more profound in their impact on behavior, are more interesting, and are more difficult to study.

For the most part, indirect socialization occurs at the more complex levels of the formulation of propositions about the effects of relationships on other relationships, and in the formation of meta-propositions. I am assuming here that it is only rarely or in unusual contexts (such as schools) that individuals are presented with explicit statements about the relationships between relationships (as, for example, in the set $A \rightarrow B$, $B \rightarrow C$, $A \rightarrow C$). More usually, these are left implicit, as when propositions about the same or similar categories of phenomena are juxtaposed. Here, of course, learning contexts are of considerable importance, for it is context that provides frames for juxtaposing propositions in a redundant manner, suggesting relationships between relationships. For this reason I find Majorie Muecke's

recent work of special interest: she shows very nicely the juxtaposition of propositions inherent in the traditional Thai and Western childbearing contexts. An important point to keep in mind is that contexts vary in the power they exert on this type of proposition formation. Powerful socializing contexts involve various combinations of redundancy, strong cathexis, and unambiguous information transmission. They are powerful in the sense that they generate the same type of propositions about relationships in a high proportion of participants. Weak socializing contexts involve less redundancy, weak cathexis, and include more ambiguous information. Being weak, they generate a wider range of propositions, for the inferences to be derived are not so clear.

I should make it clear at this point that inferential propositions of this order are generally not articulated and are unlikely to be conscious, which presents us with a methodological problem. These propositions must be inferred from people's intuitions of orderings that make sense versus those that do not. As researchers, we must therefore generate hypotheses about such propositions and present them to our informants to obtain their intuitive judgments. Meta-propositions, which consist of propositions about the formation and acceptability of propositions, are likewise generally learned indirectly and by inference. They concern such aspects of cognition as procedures (or rules) for making inferences and whether relationships are to be treated as deterministic or probabilistic. They also specify methods for determining the acceptability of propositions, as previously indicated. We should simply acknowledge here that the main techniques used by people to test propositions is their consistency with personal experience and their acceptability to significant others, which, of course, has been a chronic problem for educators who are all too frequently in the role of "insignificant" others.

What does all this have to do with behavior and, specifically, demographic behavior? I would argue that propositions are the raw materials of decision-making processes, demographic and otherwise. Thus, in any given behavioral context, persons draw from their total pool of propositions those that apply to the circumstances as they perceive them. What they perceive or feel generates an ordering of propositions with some salient and others, which may be equally applicable, reduced to insignificance. In part, we can think of this process as involving a set of propositions that relates conscious thoughts to possible actions, resulting in plans for behavior. Also of relevance are propositions intervening between plans for behavior and the actions themselves. Perhaps the best example of such intervening propositions have to do with locus of control—with whether the actor perceives himself, either personally or as a member of a class of persons, as having a significant effect upon the outcome. The significance of such propositions has been well documented for demographic behavior.[11]

Let us now consider some of the major problems of population educators. In the first place, it should be obvious that we are dealing with a complex process involving multiple levels of discourse. If we are to be true to the definition of population education offered at the beginning of this paper, then we must recognize that what we are doing is presenting people with rather complex propositions about the relationship between population phenomena and other aspects of the world in which they live. Frequently these propositions are in direct conflict with those previously learned, a problem that has not gone unnoticed by most population educators. But underlying these directly presented propositions are a set of complex third-level propositions (about the relationship between relationships), as well as meta-propositions that are more often than not left implicit. The point to be made is that the efficacy of message transmission probably depends far more on the compatibility of propositions at this level than on the overt level of dialogue. Knowledge of a people's folk demography at this "deep" level would, therefore, seem to be essential for effective communication (which may be thought of as the incorporation of propositions by learners into their decision-making program). Research into this area, including the development of appropriate research techniques, thus appears to be a desperate need that remains to be met.

Notes

1. "Recommendations of the conference." Population Socialization Conference, East-West Center, Honolulu, 16 December 1974.

2. Johnston, J.A. "Population Education and the Socialization of the Young." Paper presented at Population Socialization Conference, East-West Center, Honolulu, 16 December 1974.

3. "International Study of the Conceptualization and Methodology of Population Education," UNESCO, Paris, March 1975.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Report of Working Group on "Action Research and Management." Population Socialization Conference, East-West Center, Honolulu, 16 December 1974.

6. Johnston, J.A., *op. cit.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. Gustavus, S.O. "Fertility Socialization Research in the United States: A Progress Report." Paper No. 35, East-West Population Institute, July 1975.

10. Bernstein, B. *Class, Codes and Control, Vol. I, Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language,* London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1971.

11. Fawcett, J.T. and M.H. Bornstein, "Modernization, Individual Modernity, and Fertility." In Fawcett (ed) *Psychological Perspectives on Population,* Basic Books, 1973.

STRUCTURE, STEREOTYPES, AND STUDENTS: IMPLICATIONS FOR A THEORY OF ETHNIC INTERACTION

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Dimensions of the Case Study

It is the purpose of the following case study to provide data on ethnic stereotyping within a theoretical framework that takes into account the cognitive dimensions of behavior. In order to do so, I treat ethnic groups as *social persona*, categories composed of statuses, social identities, and distributions of these in a social field. In order to maintain boundaries, viewed as the distribution of statuses (rights and duties vis a vis members of other groups), there is a need for the use of symbolic behavior. This symbolic behavior can be viewed as an ethnic boundary marker.[1]

Of course, it is members of ethnic groups who interact. In situations such as that prevailing in Yauri, in which ethnicity is the major principle for the recruitment of groups, then a person's ethnic identity becomes an over-riding one, one that enters into any possible syntactic combination of social identities into a persona. A person's initial perception of a member of another ethnic group in Yauri is stereotypical, and his choice of behavior is consequent on his choice of identity. Furthermore, he knows how alter perceives him as a member of a category of social persona whose behavior is predictable on the basis of that knowledge alone.

Setting

Yauri Division, coterminous with Yauri Emirate, is part of the Northwestern State of Nigeria. It is one of the smallest divisions in what was formerly Northern Nigeria, an area in the Sudanic climate zone. The British fixed its boundaries in 1918 and its physical dimensions remain essentially unchanged. In 1968, the Nigerian government added a small parcel of land from Kontagora Division in compensation for land lost through the flooding of many islands as a result of the building of Kainji Dam (Roder, 1970).

In 1972, the area of Yauri was 1306 square miles, and its population was approximately 112,000. There were six districts within the Division: the capital, Yelwa, formed a district of its own and had a population of about 11,000. The other districts were Ngaski (27,000), Shanga (35,000), Kwanji (12,000), and the old capital, Bin Yauri (11,000). Population density was 84 people per square mile.

Each district had its own ethnic mix. As its name implies, Gungu (island) District was largely inhabited by Gungawa (island-dwellers). By 1972, most of its population had been shifted from islands to the mainland, a major ecological change resulting from the flooding of the Niger River after the building of the Kainji hydroelectric dam at New Bussa in neighboring Kwara State. The Dukawa in Yauri were found in Shanga District, among settlements of Gungawa and Shangawa. Yelwa town and Bin Yauri were the centers of greatest Hausa concentration, although a number of Kamberi and Gungawa also lived in Bin Yauri. Kwanji District contained a number of non-resettled Gungawa who retained more of the traditional institutions than did resettled Gungawa. Ngaski District was ethnically composed of Kamberi, Lopowa, and Hausa. In addition to these major groups, the Division contained members of other ethnic groups as well: Cattle Faulani, a few Dakarkari, about 2000 Yoruba (mainly from Abeokuta), a few Igbo, substantial numbers of Mid-Westerners (Itserkeri and Edo), five Euroamerican missionaries, two Egyptian families, one Indian family, and a smattering of representatives from other groups, including one Welshman.

School System

There had been a major expansion of Yauri's school system from the time of Nigerian independence up to the time of my second field trip in 1972. Thus, in 1966, there was only one senior primary school (clases 5-7) and seven junior primary schools (classes 1-4 or less), with a projected population of 960 students, 684 male and 276 female (six-year forecast of enrollment at yauri: N.A. Schools for the Period, 1966-1972). The total school-age population of Yauri was about 15,000, an increase of 61 from 1964 (when there were 667 males and 232 females in school).

The contrast between 1955 and 1971 is startling (see Table 1). In 1955, there were 450 students in four schools, all junior primary schools, with a combined total of 15 classrooms. In 1971, there were 2496 students in 12 schools, with a total of 63 classrooms. Enrollment had increased 454%, while the number of classrooms had increased 320%. In 1971, the total school-age population of Yauri was about 17,500.

The figures from Bin Yauri school from 1960-1971 are illustrative of the major growth in Yauri's educational system. The total population of Bin Yauri is about 11,000. In 1960, it had 80 students in school, 56 males and 24 females; in 1971, there were 280 children in

TABLE 1
SCHOOL EXPANSION IN YAURI, 1955-1971

	Schools	Classrooms	Enrollment
1955	4	15	450
1971	12	63	2496
No. Increase	8	48	2046
% Increase	300	320	454

school, 208 males and 72 females. The number of children attending schools was increasing more quickly than the division could provide for them. These children were fairly representative of Yauri's ethnic heterogeneity with the following exceptions. The Dukawa and Kamberi are gorssly under-represented; for example, there was only one Dukawa student in the entire school system in 1972. Southern groups (Yoruba, Itsekeri, etc.) are over-represented, as are Hausa. However, the government has tried to expand the system to provide formal education for all minority groups. In 1972, three new schools were begun in remote areas of the Division, raising the number of schools to 15. Nine are already senior primary schools. In time, all 15 will be senior schools since each new school will add one new class per year. Officially, there were 286 primary school students, 2003 male and 857 female, in a school-age population of about 17,960 (see Table 2).

In addition to the primary schools, Yauri had one secondary school, begun in January 1970, a school for all those who could not gain admittance elsewhere. Its primary function was to salvage students who may have enough intelligence to continue their education but whose English is too poor for them to gain admittance to higher-level schools. All 35 of the students in this school were male from the Northwestern State. Only two, however, were from Yauri. The only two properly qualified teachers in 1972 were the Indian headmaster and the Welshman from the Volunteer Service Organization (V.S.O.). The Arabic teacher needed no other qualifications except his ability to read and speak Arabic. The other two teachers were midwesterners who were Grade II teachers, secondary school graduates with one year's training beyond secondary school. Secondary school teachers should have a Nigerian Certificate of Education, given after successful completion of a three-year university certificate course.

The personnel situation that prevailed at Yauri Secondary School was common throughout the primary school system. Thus, the responses of primary and secondary school students were not unduly weighted because of the presence of "foreigners" among the teaching staff. It is simple truth to state that without the "southerners" (midwesterners, easterners, and westerners) the school system of Yauri could not have func-

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN YAURI DIVISION SCHOOLS BY CLASSES & SEX – 1972

	Class							
School	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Wah								
Boy	27	28	28	28	26	25	27	189
Girl	13	12	12	12	14	15	13	91
Total	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	280
Wara								
Boy	27	21	30	33	29	32	–	180
Girl	13	11	10	7	9	8	–	58
Total	40	40	40	40	38	40	–	238
Bin Yauri								
Boy	27	27	29	30	32	32	30	207
Girl	13	13	11	10	8	8	10	73
Total	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	280
Waje								
Boy	27	28	28	29	31	32	–	175
Girl	13	12	12	11	9	8	–	65
Total	40	40	40	40	40	40	–	240
Sabon Gari								
Boy	27	27	27	26	27	29	28	191
Girl	13	13	13	14	13	11	12	89
Total	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	280
Takware								
Boy	27	27	26	28	30	32	31	201
Girl	13	13	14	12	10	7	6	75
Total	40	40	40	40	40	39	37	276
Gebbe								
Boy	27	28	27	28	28	22	19	184
Girl	13	12	13	12	12	9	19	88
Total	40	40	40	40	40	31	38	269
Dugo Tsofo								
Boy	27	28	28	22	24	30	21	180
Girl	13	12	12	18	16	10	16	97
Total	40	40	40	40	40	40	37	277
Tomh								
Boy	27	27	30	30	29	29	–	172
Girl	13	13	10	10	13	9	–	68
Total	40	40	40	40	42	38	–	240
Ngaski								
Boy	27	26	27	30	–	–	–	110
Girl	13	14	13	10	–	–	–	50
Total	40	40	40	40	–	–	–	160
Giro								
Boy	27	28	27	–	–	–	–	82
Girl	13	12	13	–	–	–	–	38
Total	40	40	40	–	–	–	–	120
Shanga								
Boy	27	27	–	–	–	–	–	54
Girl	13	13	–	–	–	–	–	26
Total	40	40	–	–	–	–	–	80
Koma								
Boy	27	–	–	–	–	–	–	27
Girl	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	13
Total	40	–	–	–	–	–	–	40
R/Kirya								
Boy	27	–	–	–	–	–	–	27
Girl	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	13
Total	40	–	–	–	–	–	–	40
Utano								
Boy	27	–	–	–	–	–	–	27
Girl	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	13
Total	40	–	–	–	–	–	–	40
Total								
Boy	405	330	307	284	256	279	159	2003
Girl	195	150	133	116	104	98	66	857
Total	600	480	440	400	360	357	225	2860

tioned in 1972, especially since all "southerners" were at least Grade II teachers. The attitude of these southerners toward Yauri's students will be discussed in the next section. In brief, the attitude was openly negative and contributed to their hostility against midwesterners, Igbo, and Yoruba. In turn, open contempt for non-Hausa students was shown by Hausa teachers, contributing to the perpetuation of ethnic stereotyping.

Techniques and Methodology

Simple questionnaires were administered to children in classes six and seven and to secondary school students. In every case, a teacher translated the questions into Hausa and explained them to students. In some cases, we had to exercise care to prevent teachers from unduly influencing students. The Welsh V.S.O. volunteer administered questionnaires to secondary school students. In all, a total of 121 usable questionnaires were obtained.

The questionnaires' open-ended responses were coded.[2] Thus, synonyms or various qualitative characteristics were coded into categories: for example, the category "gentle" included terms such as "peaceful" and "kindly." Many responses needed no coding since they asked for rank orderings or other answers that were pre-coded (age, parents' ethnic group, and the like). The data were cross-tabulated to discover what patterns existed and a series of tables were obtained. Those most pertinent to this article are: Father's Ethnic Group, Mother's Ethnic Group, and Interethnic Marriage (see Table 3); Qualitative Stereotypes (see Table 4); Student's Religion (see Table 5). In addition, tests were run to discover if any differences existed between responses according to age and school, primary versus secondary.

These data were compared with my ethnographic observations, as well as being subjected to internal comparisons. Thus, "traditional" observations were used to interpret the results of statistical analysis. In other words, I endeavored to discover the connection between actual behavior and stereotyping, between actual behavior and the "ideal" responses to questions. To a very limited extent, I also used responses to TAT's adapted for Nigerian use.[3] These profiles were strictly supplementary to my other data and were primarily a tool to illustrate obvious cultural themes.

Since the primary schools used in the sample differ little from the general description in the above section, there is little to add here. The schools rather generally reflected the ethnic makeup of the areas in which they were located: so, Tondi and Gebbe schools are predominantely Gungawa but none of the teachers at these schools in 1972 was Gungawa. In general, they held their students in contempt.[4] The major exception to ethnic representation in the schools sampled were the Dukawa. Only one Dukawa student was in any school in Yauri or in northern Nigeria, for that matter. Fortunately, I spent

TABLE 3
INTER-ETHNIC MARRIAGE

No.	Mother's Ethnic Group	Father's Ethnic Group: Kamberi	Hausa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Midwesterners/ Others	Fulani
8	Kamberi	1	7	0	0	0	0
53	Hausa	1	49	1	0	0	2
24	Gungawa	1	11	12	0	0	0
8	Yoruba	0	0	1	7	0	0
11	Midwesterners/ others	0	1	0	0	10	0
15	Fulani	0	6	0	0	0	9
121[1]	Totals	3	74	15[1]	7	10	11

[1]NOTE: There are no data on the Igbo and Lopawa. Of two others, one had two Dukawa parents and the other had a Shangawa mother and Gungawa father. There were no Shangawa fathers.

TABLE 4
SUMMARY OF
QUALITATIVE STEREOTYPES

Group	Stereotype
Kamberi	Farmers, gentle
Hausa	Fisherfolk, civilized
Fulani	Cattleherders, warlike
Gungawa	Farmers, helpful
Hausa	Merchants, unhelpful
Dukawa	Farmers, fighters, craftsmen, hunters
Yoruba	Merchants, civilized
Igbo	Foreigners, antisocial
Shangawa	Fishermen, wrestlers
Midwesterners	Fishmongers, helpful
Europeans	Strangers, civilized

TABLE 5
STUDENTS RELIGION

Student Religion[1]	Christianity	Islam	Traditional	Total
Kamberi	0	5	0	5
Hausa	2	70	0	72
Dukawa	1	0	0	1
Gungawa	12	0	0	12
Yoruba	3	4	0	7
Midwest/Others	3	8	0	11
Fulani	0	12	0	12
Total	21	99	0	120

[1]One Hausa student did not respond.

a good deal of field time with him and with other Dukawa. Though atypical in a number of ways, his opinions regarding other ethnic groups were in conformity with those of other Dukawa. Only eight Kamberi appeared in my sample and seven were children of interethnic marriages, so their "typicality" could also be questioned. However, their responses also matched fieldwork predictions. Finally, the nature of the fieldwork prevented the obtaining of samples from districts at Yauri's northwestern or southwestern extremes. Therefore, no Shangawa or Lopawa appeared in the sample at all, and no Kamberi from Wara and Libata, a center of Kamberi culture, appeared in the sample. Still, the sample is sufficient for present purposes—to illustrate the usefulness of an approach using Goodenough's insights in expanding the Barthian concept of ethnic groups. It is useful in suggesting a means for conducting further research and adding to the precision of anthropological predictability.

Analysis of Data

In an overall ranking of ethnic groups in Yauri, there was little doubt that the Hausa were first and midwesterners (Edo, Itsekeri, and the like) last. However, the midwesterners, who were well-aware of the hatred directed their way, did not openly return the Hausa's contempt for them. Perhaps it is better to say that, like members of every other ethnic group in Yauri, midwesterners realized where the power lies. Since they were strangers to Yauri and lived in or near Yelwa town, accessible to the authorities, their respect and awareness of authority was an adaptive response of the highest priority. Their respect, however, should not be interpreted as affection or love. They despise Hausa and privately do not hide that fact. One teacher left his employment early and chose unemployment in the midwest and "subjugation" to his parents to living any longer among the "stupid, backward Hausa." He daily feared for L's life. Of course, his outspokeness did not aid his feeling safe and secure in a Hausa-dominated area.

The fact that midwesterners ranked lower than any other strangers, even the hated Igbo, was a reflection of their economic position in Yauri. When the people of Yauri expelled the Igbo, "southerners" swarmed to assume their jobs. While Yoruba are definitely "southerners," those who came were Muslims.[5] All of the midwesterners were Christians and have remained so.[6] Thus, they rank significantly lower than Yoruba. They also are far less organized than the more homogeneous Yoruba and are vulnerable to being recipients of much more pressure. The difference in their mutual ranking is a reflection of many things, of course, but is primarily a counterpart of their differential access to power. It is also an echo of their tremendous cultural differences, differences predictably expressed by a low ranking from those in positions accessible to power and high ranking from those in power subordinate positions.

To state the matter differently, there is a difference in their status vis-a-vis one another. In Goodenough's terms, each had different rights, duties, and privileges in relationships with members of the other's group. For example, while only one Hausa father in the sample married a midwestern woman, Hausa men had the right to marry midwestern women. Midwestern men did not have such rights. In Yauri, they married or remained married to "southerners," preferably midwesterners.

What I am suggesting is that one way to treat the data is as a summary of ranked rights and duties. Then significant differences from the general ranking can be dealt with as important cases. Thus, Gungawa tended to rate themselves more highly than did some other group, while the Kamberi tended to rate themselves essentially as other people did. Unfortunately, only one Dukawa is in the sample, and although his answers are ethnographically typical they must be used with caution since any idiosyncracies rather unduly bias any results. If one can point to his pattern of responses, then, as at least tentatively typical, it is clear that the Dukawa were clearly different culturally from other societies in Yauri, a point clear from ethnographic data.

There are a number of other simple but important statements about the Yauri social situation that emerged clearly. The more foreign a group was to Yauri, the lower its overall rank. The general agreement of all except the Dukawa regarding relative ranking emphasizes the fact that Yauri was, in fact, a social field in which the rules for interaction were understood and shared. Incidentally, one might predict a good deal of trouble between Dukawa and Hausa, and one would be correct. In fact, the Dukawa are perhaps the most aggressively independent people in all Yauri. It is interesting that they were ranked lower than Yoruba and Igbo. Shangawa and Lopawa are, in fact, relative strangers in central Yauri where the questionnaire was distributed, for they live on the fringes of Yauri. The Dukawa, however, are culturally strangers, if not physically so.

A ranking of stereotypes emerges: 1—Civilized, fisherfolk (Hausa); 2—Cattleherders, warlike (Fulani); 3—Farmers, gentle (Kamberi); 4—Farmers, helpful (Gungawa); 5—Merchants, civilized (Yoruba); 6—Farmers, fighters, hunters, craftsmen (Dukawa); 7—Fisherman, wrestlers (Shangawa); 8—Foreigners, antisocial (Igbo); 9—Fishmongers, helpful (midwesterners). What is most clear is that a rough "access to power" scale was present in the ranking. To the people of Yauri, "civilized" is always synonymous with "living in towns." The Hausa "fisherfolk" referred to were the Serkawa (see Salamone, 1973); the Shangawa fishermen do not fare so well. Attached to the concept of ruling are a number of other concepts. Barkow (1970) has summarized Hausa concepts regarding the ideal man rather well. In brief, he is quiet, gentle, soft-spoken, avoids noisy conflicts, displays great courtesy, and so forth. Yauri was a

Hausa-ruled area[7] not a Fulani one, as most of the emirates have been. Thus, the presence of the Fulani ranked in second position may seem to be anomalous. The high aggregate rating of the Fulani is probably best explained because of their traditional success in resisting outside political pressures. Further, while Yauri was Hausa, and not Hausa-Fulani, it was politically a *dhimi* (tributary state) under the suzerainty of Sokoto, a Fulani empire. Today, the "Cattle" Fulani are losing their struggle for relative autonomy and this loss of their rights and duties is confusing to others in Yauri. However, violence in itself is lowly ranked in Yauri and those whose ethos glorifies it may be feared, but they are also hated. Furthermore, one would be right in predicting that the Fulani have difficulties rather universally in Yauri; so their status boundaries are rather blurred and confusing in the current change situation. Significantly, conflicts have increased in recent years.

There was also a rather general agreement that certain professions and qualities should go together in proper fashion. Thus, for non-Hausa, farming was better than fishing and was certainly better than hunting, a term associated with the warlike Dukawa whose self-image is that of hunters. The Kamberi were regarded as the best farmers as well as the gentlest people in Yauri.[8] Thus, although the Hausa had traditionally drawn large numbers of people from the Gungawa (Salamone, 1975) they exhibited a slight preference for the Kamberi and Gungawa (see Table 3). However, it was rare for a Kamberi man to marry a Hausa woman. Although not so frequent, it was not "wrong" for a Gungawa man to marry a Hausa woman. However, many Gungawa with Hausa wives were so "Hausaized" that they appeared in samples as Hausa. Fieldwork identified them rather readily as those who had undergone ethnic identity change.

If the ranking of groups is an aggregate summary of the rights and duties of each ethnic group in Yauri, then one should be able to make some predictions regarding manifest behavior in interethnic situations. Further, one should be able to describe the boundaries of each ethnic group by defining its range and field of rights and duties; i.e., its relative statuses. Conflict areas would be those areas in which self and other perceptions of rights and duties differed. I have given a few examples above. Perhaps, a few more will clarify my position.

The Gungawa were ranked in a "middling" position by most of the other groups in Yauri; they were considered hardworking farmers. Before their forced resettlement, they produced Yauri's major agricultural export, onions, and were also expert fishermen. They were regarded as a practical people who would compromise, if necessary, to achieve their aims. They had a higher opinion of themselves than did other groups and were willing to express it on a questionnaire.[9] However, the gap in their self-other rating was not too great. Thus, the Gungawa were found to be engaging in a vast number of interactions with other groups. They intermarried with members of almost every group in Yauri. The Dukawa presented the only exception to this intermarriage; if Harris (1930) is correct, that was not always true. Thus, the Gungawa were, in a sense, an entrepreneurial group, one with ties to both those above and below. There are strong historical reasons for their position; they are, in fact, a group created from the merging of a number of other ethnic groups (Harris, 1930; Mahdi, 1968; Baolgun, 1970; Salamone, 1974, 1975) and one that channeled the movement of personnel into the Hausa category. So, predictably, the Gungawa were able to intermarry with people from almost every ethnic group in Yauri, for that was part of their rights and duties—marriage alliances aided their interaction. They also engaged in more intimate, day-to-day, interaction with a wider range of groups than any other group in Yauri. One can say that their role—"all the composite duty-statuses and right-statuses for a given identity in all the identity relationships that are grammatically possible for it" (Goodenough, 1969)—was more more extensive and complex than that of any other ethnic group in Yauri. Therefore, it was not surprising that they were a "helpful" people. Their role required them to assume such a vast number of social identities that they were, in some ways, "all men," or at least a microcosm of all Yauri's people. They fished, hunted, farmed, traded, had members in the bureaucracy, incorporated members from other ethnic groups, and contributed members to the Hausa.

The Kamberi presented an interesting contrast with the Gungawa; they were also highly ranked. However, they were categorized as "gentle" and were required to present themselves to members of all other ethnic groups in that social identity. In Yauri, to be "gentle" or "shy" was to be a person who never fought, no matter what the provocation; it was to be a person who ran away from any trouble, who always had "rights" to be trampled on because the rights and duties of his social identity do not include "redress of grievance." So entrenched had this view of the Kamberi become that reality was not allowed to intrude on it. Any deviation was, not surprisingly, deeply resented and viewed as a betrayal by the Kamberi's alter in the interaction.

Most Kamberi did indeed sincerely value gentleness. For good reason, most Kamberi were shy of strangers. However, to most people in Yauri, "shyness" carried the connotation of cowardice and stupidity; they said the Kamberi did not wrestle or have any sports. The fact was that the Kamberi, physically the most impressive of all Yauri's people, were superb wrestlers and were adept at a large number of gymnastic sports. They ran from fights because of their historical experience. In fact, they and the Dukawa were probably once the best warriors in Yauri. Not only are they not stupid but, in 1972, four

headmasters in Yauri were Kamberi. I had students wrongly identify them as Hausa because "they acted like Hausa."

The Kamberi seemed to possess a social identity analagous to that of many oppressed people. A full discussion would take us too far afield from our central point, for it would necessitate a complete analysis of Yauri's interethnic history (Salamone, 1974) and a discussion of theories of oppression. What is relevant is that the front stage area of life is indeed truly different from the reality of the Kamberi's backstage area of life. In short, they were "putting on" the other members of their social field. They carefully followed the rules of interaction to preserve their identity. They willingly lived up to their reputation as *magiro* (traditional religion) practitioners.[10]

However, the closer one got to Kamberi the more one saw how much of a conscious effort they put into living up to their social identities. In their compounds, they were more boisterous and outgoing than they were "supposed" to be. Their wit could be devastating, and their shyness began to drop away. They were most shy when answering questions of a religious nature; otherwise, they were quite open and mocked their stereotype freely.

The Kamberi school children displayed a remarkable ambiguity in their ranking of the Dukawa. Of course, since only five self-identified Kamberi were in the samples, only cautious generalizations could be made. Further, only one Kamberi had both a Kamberi mother and father. One might indeed have expected ambiguity from such a sample. There were, in fact, more than five children in the sample with at least one Kamberi parent; there were ten. Seven had a Hausa father and a Kamberi mother, one had a Kamberi father and a Hausa mother, one had a Kamberi father and Gungawa mother, and one had a Kamberi mother and father. Further, all Kamberi in the sample were Muslims. The Kamberi in the sample therefore represented an upwardly mobile segment of the Kamberi universe. They were moving away from the stereotypeic Kamberi and had a choice in the way in which they presented themselves. The fact that students mis-identified Kamberi schoolmasters as Hausa was significant. It was also significant that these schoolmasters very carefully observed proper Islamic behavior but assiduously maintained their ties to their own people; they were consciously using Islam as a means to better their people's lot while fighting to preserve their ethnic identity. They still attended the old festivals but refrained from drinking there.

The relevance of this behavior and its meaning to Kamberi-Dukawa interaction was simple and important. Kamberi who were upwardly mobile must make sure that their new identity as Muslims was accepted by the Hausa, who were models for proper Islamic behavior. The majority of Kamberi Islamic converts chose to retain their identity as Kamberi, while deemphasizing elements that conflict with Islam; one of these elements is the drinking of "native beer."[11] The Kamberi and Dukawa have traditionally had a joking relationship or one of privileged familiarity—part of that relationship was one of mutual drinking. There were a number of reasons for the relationship but the important fact was its existence and meaning to people in Yauri.[12] It was, therefore, logical that people changing their self-presentation would attempt to extinguish any behavior whose meaning would conflict with that purpose. Then, too, the Dukawa had stubbornly clung to their fierce image in Yauri while the Kamberi had been careful to cultivate a "kindly," "gentle" one. Conversion to Islam only sharpened the Kamberi's presentation of a gentle self; combined, in Yauri, with profession of Islam, gentleness was truly the mark of the civilized person. The Dukawa, however, were the antithesis of the civilized person in Yauri. Thus the ambiguous categorization of the Dukawa by Kamberi schoolchildren, a categorization that needed explanation because of the joking behavior observable daily in Yauri between Kamberi and Dukawa and the deviation from that behavior that the categorization suggests.[13]

Finally, the mutual rankings and stereotypes showed a close connection with the functions that each group performed in Yauri and the ranking of those functions. In some ways, it was a ranking of occupations and qualities associated with them.[14] Thus, governing was clearly a highly ranked occupation while hunting was not. Trade controlled by outsiders was understandably unpopular since these outsiders were in competition for valuable resources with indigenous ethnic groups. As I suggested above, whenever there is a lack of agreement between "self-ranking" (and therefore the exercise of certain rights and duties) and "other-ranking," there is an area of potential stress in the system.

Conclusions

These data have a number of implications regarding the relationship between schools and their sociocultural milieu. By now, it is rather a truism in the field that education is socialization of large groups, and that what is taught and learned in schools is not the curriculum but, rather, sociocultural attitudes and patterns of interaction. These data clearly demonstrated the fit between students' perceptions and those of their parents. Indeed, areas of sociocultural change are clearly highlighted in the students' responses, so much so that the Yauri schoolworld was a microcosm of its wider sociocultural milieu.

Because a school reflects areas of sociocultural tensions and is structured in a manner that perpetuates the values of the dominant society in an interethnic setting, it also serves in a number of ways to facilitate our understanding of that society and its processes and

tensions. For example, this study clearly pointed to the relationship between economic competition and ethnic conflict. It also pointed out ways in which behavior is related to perception—for example, marital patterns were predictable from knowledge of ethnic stereotypes.

At least equally important was the study's finding that these schools were so structured that they perpetuate ethnic stereotypes and, indeed, even strengthen them. Many schoolrooms were battlegrounds, quiet ones to be sure, between members of the various ethnic groups that compose Yauri's society. When the teachers were midwesterners in predominately Hausa schools, the seeds for future conflict were well-sown and fertilized. When they were Hausa in Gungawa schools, the situation was almost as sad. The open contempt in which teachers often held students is an ethnographic fact. The built-in frustrations of Yauri schools, including the required use of English, even for students who cannot yet speak Hausa, only compounded the frustration. Southern teachers held students who cannot speak good English in contempt, while Hausa teachers held those who could not speak Hausa almost beneath contempt.

Methodologically, the study was important because it was a step toward integrating survey and field methodology; it certainly demonstrated the inter-relationship of the two techniques and methodologies (there is a long line of studies arguing for the need to integrate the two approaches). This study began from the field and only then went to the classroom. Before using any questionnaires there, careful observation was employed. Constant reference from the questionnaires to the ethnographic material was made in the study. The point, again, is the fact that the school, indeed, is a microcosm.

Using schools as microcosms, careful observation can lead to suggestions that have implications for the wider society. While such suggestions go beyond the scope of this paper, there is no doubt that an extension of the present study would lead to recommendations that could ease tensions in the schools and even beyond, if carefully implemented. In fact, the village of Shabanda in Gebbi District has a readymade model in which Christian and Muslim Gungawa live at peace.[15]

This study has theoretical, methodological and technical implications. Schools were shown to be microcosms of the wider society, and they both reflect and mold the values of that society. Means for presenting one's self in the wider world are honed in the classroom. Students' perceptions of reality match those of their elders and are learned in spite of (because of?) the schools efforts.

Notes

1. If one objects that boundary markers can be "things" as well as behavior, we could answer, following the archaeologist, that artifacts are frozen bits of behavior. Of course, it is not the "thing" but its symbolic meaning and usage that helps define its function as a boundary marker.

2. The coding of material and the patient feeding of data to the computer was done by a student, Arthur Thomas. For his patience in coping with unfamiliar Hausa responses and in dealing with a touchy computer I am deeply grateful.

3. My thanks for permission to use these goes to Ralph Faulkinham, Charles Keil, and Jerome Barkow.

4. Two Gungawa students, both Christians, from Shabanda, a village near Gebbe, were finishing their requirements for a Grade II teaching certificate and were slated to teach in Tondi.

5. One of the Yoruba headmasters was a Catholic when he arrived in Yauri. He converted to Islam and shortly after became a headmaster of Waje Primary School. He was highly respected in the community, even though he was a partner in a trucking business with a midwestern Catholic. In the sample, four of seven Yoruba were Muslims.

6. I am perfectly aware that there are a large number of midwestern ethnic groups. However, in Yauri, "midwestern" has become an emic category into which members of all midwestern groups are lumped, analagous to the manner in which all "Europeans," including Americans, are lumped together in one category.

7. In fact, as Mahdi (1968) and Balogun (1970) have demonstrated, the situation is much more complex than I have made it seem. The "Hausa" in Yauri are "really" essentially Gungawa who have changed their ethnic identity over time (Salamone, 1975). As newly-arrived Hausa, they are careful to act as proper Hausa at all times, exaggerating their Hausa-ness to validate their claims to the possession of Hausa identity.

8. The Kamberi were not always so gentle. Mahdi (personal communication) points out that they and the Dukawa were close allies; in fact, the Kamberi were the original rulers of Yauri. They lost large numbers of people in the civil wars that devastated Yauri in the 19th century. "Gentleness," or more literally "shyness," was an effective adaptive mechanism. Their retreat from towns to the bush was a similar defensive response. Unfortunately, little has been written on these fascinating people.

9. All groups in Yauri, in fact, have high self-images. The Kamberi were not really so self-effacing as their self-rankings would make them appear. The questionnaires were filled out in a social situation in which members of other groups were present. Ethnographic data obtained from in-depth interviews strongly suggested that all groups in Yauri considered themselves "number one." They also knew the agreed-on ranking of one another and the rules for interaction that followed from these rankings. The Gungawa in the sample were all Christians (Muslim Gungawa are almost by definition Hausa; no pagan Gungawa were in the sample). That fact could easily have accounted for their high self-image since these Christians lived on the peninsula of Shabanda, were not resettled, and otherwise exhibited the

"Protestant Ethic." They were converts to the United Missionary Church of Africa, a fundamentalist organization (Salamone, 1974).

10. Gentleness is associated with *magiro* priests. The most famous *magiro* priest in Yauri, indeed in all of the Northwestern State, is a Gungawa. He is indeed gentle and a bit of a "buffoon." Perhaps all Kamberi males are thought to have magic power because of their gentleness.

11. Muslims in Yauri interpreted the Koranic injunction against drinking alcoholic beverages as applicable only to what they called "native wine."

12. I am currently preparing an article on the Dukawa-Kamberi relationship, a long and enduring one.

13. The situation is, perhaps, even more complex for, while Muslim Kamberi are becoming more "gentle," Christian Kamberi are not. Perhaps, a schismo-genesis might arise in the future. Furthermore both Dukawa and Kamberi are attracted to Christianity. It will be important to study the meaning of various patterned relationships that develop between various kinds of Dukawa and Kamberi: for example, Christian Kamberi-Traditional Dukawa, Muslim Kamberi-Christian Dukawa, etc. Incidentally, the Dukawa stereotype the Kamberi as gentle and cowardly as much as do members of other ethnic groups. Perhaps there is a trace of bitterness in their categorization since they were once wartime allies and equally fierce.

14. I have suggested that ethnic groups should be viewed as examples of the Weberian categories of class, status and party (1975).

15. For a detailed description, see Salamone (in press).

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CALL FOR PAPERS

Committee 3 is responsible for the February 1977 issue of the Council on Anthropology and Education *Quarterly.* Articles, book reviews, media critiques, curriculum designs and other items related to resources and the teaching of anthropology are solicited. Alanson Van Fleet, the University of Florida, has agreed to serve as special editor, with Walter Watson of Brock University. Volunteers are welcomed. Send materials to M.J. Rice, Committee 3 CAE, 106 Dudley Hall, University of Georgia, Athens GA 30602.

CALL FOR EVALUATION

Committee 3 of the Council on Anthropology and Education, "Resources and Teaching of Anthropology," will sponsor a special evaluation symposium at the 1977 meeting, to be held in St. Louis on November 30-December 4 (tentative). Psychometric and observational evaluations of curriculum materials and teaching of anthropology will be considered. While preference will be given to empirical studies, theoretical papers will also be considered. Information about proposal format may be obtained from M.J. Rice, 107 Dudley Hall, University of Georgia, Athens GA 30602.

"PROGRESS" WITHOUT DEVELOPMENT: RURAL EDUCATION AT THE CULTURAL INTERFACE IN HIGHLAND PERU

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Introduction

This paper[1] examines the impact of formal schools on peasant communities in one rural district in the central Peruvian highlands. Peasants in Tikapampa[2] have redefined the function of the school, which is based on a western model, and have assigned it a set of values that have meaning within their own cultural context. In so doing, they have limited the effectiveness of the school as an agent of modernization and given it a place within their own cultural tradition. They have been assisted by the existence of an educational system that is too rigid to adapt to their cultural milieu. The lack of curriculum effectivenss contributes to and reinforces the redefinition of the school in the cognitive map of the peasants. Consequently, although the peasants are anxious to have a school in their community, thereby obtaining a symbol of "progress," they are somewhat less concerned with sending their children to it.

Tikapampa, A Peruvian Peasant District

Tikapampa, located about 10,000 feet above sea level, is both the name of the district and the name of the capital town. It is connected to Ayacucho, the department capital, by a narrow, dirt, mountain road traveled mostly by an occasional truck ferrying passengers and supplies for a fee of 15 soles (U.S. .34). About 600 people live in Tikapampa permanently, though they spend most of the daylight hours working in their fields, which are anywhere from a 15-minute to a 2-hour walk in any direction from the community. Most of the peasants consider themselves well off if they have more than seven acres of land. The major part of their agricultural production is for subsistence, with corn and potatoes forming the basic staples. Barley is also produced but to a much smaller degree. Meat is only an occasional dietary supplement, even though most peasant families have a few chickens, pigs, and guinea pigs prowling the back yard. Other basic commodities must be obtained either in trade with merchants or other peasant families, or with cash from the sale of subsistence crops. Many Tikapampinos have found that their agricultural production did not satisfy their subsistence needs and have migrated to urban centers where they now work as construction workers, porters, gatekeepers, and the like. Out-migration has been so great that, although the department as a whole nearly doubled its population between 1961 and 1972, the population of Tikapampa increased by only 15 persons (Peru, 1972).

Almost 100% of the district's permanent residents learn Quechua, a native American language, as their mother tongue. Only about 30-35% of the people can be considered fluent in Spanish, the national language. Family ties are very strong and the flexibility of the kinship system allows them to have extensive kindred without having to trace their kinship links precisely. Inter- and intra-family reciprocal labor relationships are still maintained, though they are losing ground to cash-based transactions. Migrants living in Ayacucho control local politics, yet they are relatively powerless to coerce the traditional peasants into lifestyles found outside the community. The local school, largest in the district, only became a complete primary school in 1966, although it had been in existence since 1895. Potable water facilities were established as late as 1970 and only about 11% of the households have running water, even though the initial installation cost is low (about $6.80). Tikapampa peasants remain committed to an agrarian lifestyle that has evolved over centuries of interaction with a politically dominant state authority—from the Incas to the present military Revolutionary Government. Their cultural isolation from the outside world is a fact that has helped them to survive many periods of intense exploitation. The school is one of the greatest potential rivals to their cultural isolation through the inculcation of national norms and ideals transmitted in the classroom. However, the effectiveness of the instruction has been quite limited for reasons that will be detailed below, and one result has been the incorporation of the school into the cultural tradition of this peasant district.

The Functions of Schooling in Tikapampa

Enrollment figures are deceptive indicators of peasant enthusiasm for schooling. Although total primary school enrollments in Peru increased by 41.8% between 1963 and 1968 (Paulston, 1971), the dropout rate has remained relatively constant over the same period and few children ever finish primary school. Only 32.8% entered the sixth (and final) grade of primary school in 1960. By 1968, that figure had risen to only 33% (Paulston, 1971).

In rural areas, such as Tikapampa, the dropout rate is much higher. In 1972, less than 2% of the total district enrollment entered the sixth grade. Attendance was not regular either; over 20% of the children were absent during 1972 in the district capital school.

Perhaps part of the reason for high dropout and non-attendance rates can be seen in the following example. The teacher of a three-grade primary school in a small community near Tikapampa had registered 40 pupils for the 1972 school year. This teacher had gone from house to house recruiting the children during the month-and-a-half preceding the school year's commencement. By the middle of the year, only 10-15 students attended regularly, whereupon the teacher asked one of the local officials to call a community meeting to ask the parents to start sending their children. But weeks and months passed by without the meeting and with no additional students. By the end of the year, the school superintendent was considering closing the school. An inquiry into the situation revealed that the parents often felt threatened by the presence of the teacher at their doorstep during the registration period. They believed that if they did not register their children they would be sent to jail (since primary school is compulsory) or that they would look bad in front of the teacher.

The peasant in Tikapampa does not perceive the school in the same way as would a man who has become acculturated to westernized, *mestizo*[3] society. For the latter the function of the school consists of the transmission of the ideology, formal knowledge and universal values that are necessary in the training of a child so that he can assume an adult role in that society (Cohen, 1971). But for the peasant much of what the westernized *mestizo* would consider to be within the domain of the school lies within the bosom of the family. Whereas the school has the general function of socializing the *mestizo* child into the national domain, it has a more specific function for the peasant child, that is, to teach him how to speak and write Spanish and how to add and subtract. Consequently, many parents are disinclined to have their children return to classes, if there are no tangible results forthcoming in a relatively short span of time.

Peasants realize, of course, that the ability to speak Spanish is important, since this is the language that dominates all the official activities of the community with *mestizo* society and since it is the one that is utilized in almost all economic transactions outside the domain of the peasant community. It is also the language of instruction in almost all of the Peruvian classrooms.[4]

The Effectiveness of Schooling in Tikapampa

Clearly the capacity to teach Spanish and to read and write is beyond that of the peasant family. In the large majority of peasant homes no Spanish is spoken, and in even fewer are there persons able to either read or write it. Children must go to school if they are to obtain these skills. Some Tikapampa peasants do consider schooling important: as one Tikapampa man said to me, "I send my (male) children to school so that they won't suffer from not knowing Spanish and from not knowing how to add. Otherwise they would be deceived (by merchants and others) and would be embarrassed in (community) meetings."

But while it may desirable for peasants to send their children to school, it is not always feasible. Indeed, for many it is very costly to do so. School expenses for peasant families can account for up to 30% of their annual cash income. Also, children are needed to help in the fields, to care for livestock and to carry out a number of other vital domestic chores. School takes them away from these chores for five full days a week. They can ill afford to keep a child in school longer than necessary. If they believe that one of the children is not learning rapidly enough, then he will be withdrawn even before the completion of a full year of schooling. In these cases, parents usually do not blame their children for lack of ability, rather they fault the teachers. The parents believed that it is very difficult to get an education in Tikapampa. They felt that only in Lima could their children learn Spanish. Several parents went so far as to say that they doubt some of the teachers are even able to speak Spanish. Most believed that their children would learn more if they could get better teachers.

The teachers for their part were not unaware of this criticism. One strategy they have developed in order to deal with it is to lower their standards by passing pupils who have not really achieved the minimum skills necessary to continue. They felt that eventually almost no children would be attending school if they did not do this, because there are comparatively few children that achieve the minimum standards.

As the parents have found out, the school in Tikapampa has not been particularly effective in transmitting those skills which peasants want for their children, at least up until 1972 before the full impact of a sweeping new educational reform had been felt. The school curriculum, prepared in Lima by the Ministry of Education, was designed with urban, *mestizo* children who are native Spanish-speakers in mind, but about 70% of the children who entered the Tikapampa school in 1972 were monolingual Quechua-speakers. Although all the teachers were also fluent Quechua-speakers, Spanish was used about 90% of the time in the classroom. The teachers had never had any training in bilingual education, and were not pedagogically prepared to deal with this situation. Consequently, the children sat impatiently in the classroom, barely understanding anything. The second grade teacher, in an apparent sign of frustration and resignation, had moved her desk to the back of the room where she spent most of the classtime while her students copied words and drawings from the blackboard. One 21 year old newlywed told me that she had spent three years repeating the second grade and still was unable to read and write anything other than her name.

And in a verbal arithmetic test I gave to the sixth grade pupils, 22 out of a total of 28 (85.7%) were unable to work out the correct answer to a third-grade level problem (Wallace, 1975).

Teachers and the Rural School

The effectiveness of the school is limited not only by the inadequacy of the curriculum and teacher training but also by nature of the interaction between the teachers and the peasant community. One teacher explained to me that, since the peasants will trick you out of your money or your goods, you have to at least be prepared to trick them first. They will always try to take advantage of you, so the best thing to do is to have as little to do with them as possible.

The teachers see themselves as dedicated professionals trying to lift the Indians out of their ignorance. While they generally do not ridicule or really abuse the Indians, they are frequently condescending in their treatment of them and expect them to show respect and deference. They belong to the lower middle class and do not want to become overly identified with Indians.

At the same time, the peasants expect the teachers to set a good example for their children. Aside from accusations of bad pedagogy, they have also been accused of improper behavior (drunkenness, immorality, tardiness in meeting classes), which has provoked the mayor into sending letters of complaint to the district school superintendent. The complaint letters by themselves are insufficient to remove a teacher but they do at least create unwanted difficulties for teachers. Nearly all of them would prefer to teach in an urban school and the letters can make it more difficult for them to obtain a transfer.

The desire to transfer back to the city where their relatives live is a major element in the friction and disunity that characterizes the interaction between the teachers. Teachers have a limited good perspective of their professional opportunities. Not only are there very few open positions in the urban centers but there are also many unemployed teachers willing to take any open position in the system. The teachers in Tikapampa co-exist in a stressful and conflictive environment: they want to leave the town someday soon, but can only do so at the expense of someone else. They are envious if any one of their colleagues becomes too successful in his/her present position. A considerable amount of their energy is spent in strategic ploys to increase their own prestige or to limit that of others. As a result, cooperation is almost impossible.

Though cooperation might improve the school and theoretically benefit all of them, the teachers believe that only the director would receive the praise and prestige for the improvements. But the director is also afraid that if anyone else but himself received credit for the improvements, his own job security would be in jeopardy. Thus, the chances that teachers could provide innovative benefits for the school and the community are minimal. Their concern with protecting and improving their own position makes it difficult for them to engage in activities that might change the peasant community, even if they wanted to do so.

Teachers in Tikapampa are not Agents of Change

The only persons that seem to benefit directly from the type of schooling offered are pupils who come from about 15% of the families in Tikapampa that have become relatively acculturated and have largely accepted the values of the national *mestizo* society. One of these values is the belief that education is one of the best means of improving one's social and economic conditions. The children in these families are generally bilingual and enter school with a distinct advantage over the other children in the middle and lower strata of the community whose parents have had little contact with *mestizo* society. They are the fastest learners and quickly become the main target of a teacher's attention.

Since the acculturated families are more oriented to the ideological, social, and economic values of the national society, the children are also oriented towards a life that will be carried on outside the community. And they are the persons who will migrate to live permanently in urban centers. The teachers, then, are catering to a segment of the population that has the same interests as their own—to leave the community and participate in the national society.

Rural teachers cannot really be considered innovators of change nor agents of community development. The real agents of change are the peasants who have become acculturated *(mestizoized)* after prolonged periods of residence in urban centers as construction workers. But even their contact with the natal community is generally sporadic. Their effectiveness is limited because they return only for short periods, a year at most. Those who stay longer generally do not participate much in traditional community affairs.

Institutionalizing the School Within the Local Tradition

The fact that some peasant students are able to graduate from primary school speaking, reading, and writing Spanish furnishes the rest of the community with examples of children who have "made it." Many peasants continue to believe that formal education can be effective. Others, though at least aware of the high value *mestizos* place on education, are not so thoroughly convinced. One peasant father said to me, "Mainly I send my children to school now because all my neighbors do." Perhaps of greater importance to peasants and to the community as a whole is the fact that there *is* a school, that it has *six* grades (there are six grades in primary school), and that it has *six* teachers. The number of children who attend is only a secondary concern.

A school represents status and prestige to the community. Several students of contemporary Andean peasant society (Dobyns, 1970; Nuñez del Prado, 1973; and Comitas, 1967) have all noted the great enthusiasm peasants have shown towards schooling in the last 15 years. In a survey of Peruvian indigenous communities (Dobyns, 1970), over 83% had built schools with their own labor or material freely contributed. In the department of Ayacucho, with a large rural, peasant population, 88% of the 75 officially recognized peasant communities surveyed had built their own school. Furthermore, more schools had been built by Ayacucho peasant communities than any other public or religious structures. For the small communities the presence of a functioning school signifies political autonomy from larger nearby communities with whom they usually have had long-standing rivalries. For the larger, more established communities like Tikapampa, a bigger and more complete school signifies a prosperous and prestigious community. In each community, there are many persons, usually from the acculturated sector, who think it is important to appear to be progressive in order to show the rest of the communities of the region that they are not merely peasants but that they are a community that stands above the rest, that they are a part of the modern world. Although there is a desire on the part of many communities to improve their present status by obtaining the symbols of 'progress', such as a school or a medical post with a health officer, often there is no corresponding desire to participate fully in these institutions that originate outside the community. In other words, the acquisition of these prestigious institutions is of first-order priority in the community but the utilization of them is only of second-order priority. The acceptance of the presence of these institutions in the community does not modify the basic structure of intra- and inter-community relations. The school as an institution has entered the peasant community but has been given another meaning.

One research assistant in Qasa, the principal rival town of Tikapampa, noted that when the peasants refer to their school they generally compare it to the one in the district capital. For the Qasa peasants, the physical improvement of their school is essential to their community in order to demonstrate that they are at least as 'progressive as their neighbors in Tikapampa. And, since the school is one of its most important national institutions, it is a question of prestige to have the best possible. Whichever has the best school has the best community.

The school in Tikapampa has not made any direct change in the community. Only about 5 of the 43 sixth-grade students in 1970 and 1971 continued on to high school in Ayacucho. Only one native Tikapampa person has completed university training. Only three Tikapampinos have actually entered the Peruvian professional middle-class. None of the three is now working or has worked in Tikapampa. The only major community improvements that have been completed in the last ten years are the potable water system, a telegraph office (recently closed due to lack of use), two new school buildings, the stationing of a poorly trained "sanitation" (health) officer (using his home for an office), and the completion of a road into the town. None of these has had any significant effect on the standard of living of the peasants. The road has brought in more commercial traffic since the establishment of a market and some peasants have begon to devote a larger percentage of their arable land to commercial crops such as potatoes and barley. At the same time, they have cut down on the amount of land given over to subsistence crops, indicating a possible deterioration of domestic consumption.

Nor has political participation increased in the past 10 years. The peasants themselves have perceived no significant heightening of enthusiasm for either becoming involved in or supporting locally appointed community members in pressuring for a greater share in the benefits of the national society. The infrequent communal meetings are poorly attended at best and communal projects have been few and far between. A consensus concerning the direction of Tikapampa's participation in the national society has never been achieved, although individuals who have migrated and live more often in urban centers attempt, without much success, to run the district political apparatus without the full participation of the citizens. Most of the inhabitants are still very concerned with holding offices in the traditional indigenous civil-religious hierarchy whereby a man pledges himself to community and church service for a year. The duties involved in these positions may obligate a man to spend more money and goods than he can make in two or three years. Several migrants have returned to Tikapampa to live only in order to carry out their responsibilities in one of these offices. When their term is over, they return to either Ayacucho or Lima.

The school has not affected political participation in the community, nor has it helped to diminish the enthusiasm for Tikapampa's traditional rituals. It has not had a hand in implementing any of the recent community improvements with the sole exception of the construction of the new school buildings.

While the school itself is an institution of the national society, it does not fulfill the universalistic functions expected of it by the dominant society. Rather than being an agent of change, it has become a part of the local cultural tradition and the teachers are simply passengers in a system in which there is always a better stop further along the line.

Conclusion

Government officials of developing nations have long regarded the school as an important focus for the modernization of the rural sectors. Having absorbed the

"myth" of schooling (Illich, 1970), some of the Andean countries, for example, spend approximately one-quarter of their national budget for education (Faure 1973). Yet even with concentrated reform efforts to increase the effectiveness of the school as an acculturating agency, significant changes in the educational level and political participation of the rural masses has been slow or non-existent in Latin America. Of course, as many researchers have pointed out, schools and, more specifically, the values transmitted in the classroom must reflect the basic principles of the societies in which they exist (Faure, 1973; Wallace, 1961). Schooling is generally not a prime mover in terms of stimulating social changes, although it may help to emphasize or reinforce changes that have already taken place. Nevertheless, governmental officials and many social scientists maintain that education can play a major role in nation building (Safa, 1971). They do recognize the general failure of rural schools in fulfilling the function of transmitting the basic computational skills, reading, and writing (e.g., Gay and Cole, 1967; Wolcott, 1967). Unfortunately, it is often forgotten that rural schools in developing countries usually exist in a cultural and social context far removed or very different from that of the western, industrialized countries. Since the developing nations have often taken the educational systems of developed countries as their model, the systems based on these models may only be applicable in a largely industrial and urban context. Thus, rural schools, like those in Tikapampa, may be ineffectual in rural and subsistence-oriented communities where a different scale of values exists for the allocation of resources. Even where optimum conditions are present and teachers are truly conscientious in their responsibilities to the western model of schooling, the school may not be able to carry out its basic functions because the members of the rural community, from their own cultural perspective, may perceive them differently.

Notes

1. An earlier draft of this paper was read at the 73rd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Mexico City, November 1974. The research for this paper was undertaken in 1972-73 with a Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant and a grant from the Ford Foundation, Lima Office.

2. Tikapampa is a pseudonym for a district in the central Peruvian department of Ayacucho.

3. The term *mestizo* originally meant, in colonial times, a person of mixed Spanish-Indian ancestry. However, today it refers to anyone who can speak fluent Spanish and shares Hispanic culture.

4. The 1972 educational reform has upgraded the status of Quechua and Aymara, two native American languages that predominate in the central and southern highland region, by allowing them to be used as the language of instruction under some circumstances. This change was not felt in Tikapampa during the period of my residence there.

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Comment on Wallace Article

It is instructive to read about school matters in a rural district of highland Peru and to use the data in comparative analysis. We are reminded of the diverse, culture-specific, adaptations which evolve in response to a western model school. At the same time, we observe once again the "power" of this model—its intransigence and refractiveness to change and the almost predetermined roles it structures for principal actors. Social distance and tension between teachers and parents, competition between administrators and teachers, the status value of the school's presence, the high cost of education, attendance problems—these are to varying degrees conditions or problems with which we are all familiar.

The dynamics of school-local culture articulation is or should be a subject of central concern to us all. There is little reason to be encouraged about how knowledgeable we are on this question, which is being "tested" in a wide range of cultural settings throughout the world. Wallace's research is, therefore, particularly useful, though one may not agree altogether with his conclusions. He concludes that the peasants of Tikapampa redefined the function of the school and gave it a set of values meaningful within their own cultural context. The thesis is intriguing but not, I feel, convincing. He says the school is a symbol of progress, that parents value it for the skills their children acquire (which are requisite to effective interaction with the non-traditional community), and that, in the face of sacrifice, parents want their children in school—unless the teacher is incompetent. Hence, in spite of family conditions which explain attendance and dropout patterns, it is not at all clear that the school's function has, in fact, been redefined. We are accustomed (markedly so in these times) to experience the school-community relationship as a process of continuous negotiation in which the distribution of power and responsibilities is never finally resolved. It appears the peasants of Tikapampa are not ineffective participants in a similar kind of process.

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POSITION AVAILABLE

A position for a Field Coordinator with the Cross-Cultural Education Development Program, University of Alaska, Northwest Region (NANA/Bering Straits), is open. The field coordinator will be responsible for the regional operations of a statewide, field-centered, cross-cultural education training program. Specific responsibilities include coordinating all field-center program activities within a given region; serving as liaison and coordinating program activities with local, higher education, and public school officials; assisting in the development of an instructional program for delivery statewide and within the region; preparing field-centered university courses within areas of expertise; and other responsibilities as determined by the statewide consortium, regional panel, and statewide coordinator.

Candidates must have advanced training or experience (Ph.D. strongly recommended) in some field related to cross-cultural education, particularly as it relates to human resource development. Specific areas of interest are human ecology, economics, anthropology, educational development, community development, socio-economics, social/cultural change and comparative education. Public school teaching experience is also desirable.

Applicants will be screened by program staff and accepted candidates will be reviewed by a panel within the Northwest region. The successful candidate will then be recommended to the University for employment. The field coordinator will be assigned to the professional faculty of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks and will be granted academic rank consistent with individual training experience. Continued funding for the position and the salary schedule are contingent on legislative approval of the program and university budgets. The formal contract period for the position will be 1 July 1976 to 30 June 1977. If interested, please apply to the address given above.

Educational Anthropologists in Non-Academic Settings: Reports from the Field

Elizabeth M. Eddy

In November of 1974, CAE sponsored a Job Clinic at the annual meetings in Mexico City. The Clinic was planned by Robert Textor and I chaired it. The purpose of the Clinic was to provide an opportunity for interested anthropologists to learn more about the types of work being undertaken by anthropologists who are employed by educators as researchers and practitioners in non-academic settings. In addition, the reports indicate some of the adaptations necessary in making the transition from the traditional roles of anthropologists in academe to those that are newly emerging in public school systems, community action agencies, private consulting firms, and curriculum development organizations.

Following the annual meetings, four of the panelists agreed to prepare written statements for the CAE Quarterly. Two of these statements are presented below with the hope that they will be useful in stimulating thought and discussion among CAE members about the development of strategies for opening up new opportunities for anthropologists and ways of preparing anthropologists for new roles in the contemporary world.

I: EMPLOYMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

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Within the past 20 years, the interests of anthropology and education have begun to merge. As they do so, at least two distinct and divergent approaches are being used. On the one hand, it is stated that anthropology should be taught in the public schools (Lee, 1960; Spindler, 1963). On the other hand, it is suggested that anthropology has a role to play in the analysis of the educational process (Spindler, 1963; Smith, 1967; Wolcott, 1971). These two approaches present significantly different problems in relating the discipline of anthropology to the world of education.

The process of introducing anthropology as a field of study in the public schools is a process of intervention; it entails acting upon a culture to induce change. From the viewpoint of one in education, it is unfortunate that this intervention has often been attempted in a manner uncharacteristic of the anthropological approach, and in a way that raises questions about the ethics of intervention. The problem is succinctly expressed by an anthropologist who commented, "I don't know anything about school systems," and subsequently, "I've just finished writing a unit for high schools" (quoted in Wolcott, 1971). It is this kind of roughshod treatment of the public schools that often alienates those in the educational system from the academic anthropologist. While anthropologists have an important role to play in introducing the study of anthropology into the public schools, the schools are not prime training grounds for any discipline, be it psychology, sociology, history, or anthropology. Moreover, the role of the anthropologist in education is contingent upon a thorough knowledge of the educational system.

The role of anthropology in the analysis of educational processes and systems is one which is congruent with the methodology of the cultural and social anthropologist: it calls for the recognition of the educational system as a conglomerate of many subsystems and the use of both micro and macro studies. For example, when one speaks of the Canadian educational system, one is speaking of a very different entity than when one speaks of the Alberta educational system, the Westlock educational system, or the educational system of Miss Jones' classroom. It is apparent that an anthropologist embarking upon an ethnographic study of a culture would be cognizant of such things as belief systems, value systems, symbols, linguistics, social structure, political structure, behavioral systems, and the interrelationships of these systems. Unfortunately, it is also apparent that many anthropologists who intervene in school systems do not recognize that schools, too, are composed of interrelated social systems.

The employment of anthropologists in the field of education has many similarities to the employment of anthropologists in the work of assisting developing nations. The acceptance of this simple statement would do much to improve the contribution of the anthropologist in school systems, and would provide a perspective which would help alleviate the personal biases and generalizations which are apt to result when one works within a social system in which one was a member for at least 12 of his or her formative years. It must be

remembered that as a student or a parent the anthropologist was engaged in a scientific analysis of the school system, and that it is now incumbent upon the anthropologist to enter the school system as an anthropologist, and not as a student or a parent.

The anthropologist who wishes to enter into the study of the field of education must diligently explore the appropriate entry points. There are political, administrative, curricular and social entry points, and the people who provide these entry points may be teacher organization personnel, school administrators, curriculum specialists, or teachers. Each point of entry calls for different procedures and has different "foreshadowed problems." All, however, call for the sensitive holistic approach of the professional anthropologist and for anthropologists to enumerate what it is that they can offer the educational system.

As an administrator in education, I have been associated with anthropologists who enter for the purpose of providing (1) an anthropological perspective on the development of instructional materials, (2) the participant-observer approach to evaluation, and (3) the analysis of a subculture and its relationships with the educational process. These have been very useful endeavors. The presence of anthropologists resulted in significant and positive contributions, and I believe that these are three areas in which the presence of anthropology can and should have an impact.

In addressing themselves to the problem of seeking employment in education, anthropologists should outline the contributions they can make. Perhaps the stage for their discussions should be one where educators are present. The AERA, NSSP, NESP, ASCD, NEA, NCSS, CEA, state and provincial teacher organizations, and other educational organizations should be provided with the opportunity to hear the message from anthropologists.

II: EMPLOYMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

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Anyone with anthropological training who is interested in employment in the field of education must recognize the fact that there are very few jobs in education which are labeled "anthropologist." Most of the jobs an anthropologist might well be qualified to hold carry other titles, such as evaluator, educational planner, curriculum developer, manpower training planner, or on-site researcher. This is partially due to the past history of the field of anthropology which, until very recently, emphasized an academic job as the only proper career goal for a serious anthropologist. The situation is now changing somewhat. But if you are interested in employment in the field of education, you must prepare yourself by acquiring job skills, relevant cross-training, and an identity as a non-academic anthropologist. With these, you can create your own job.

I have been working with the Choctaw Tribe in Mississippi for a number of years, assisting in planning educational programs and in providing population statistics for overall programming, such as projecting enrollment trends and long-range educational needs. In 1972, I was hired as chief planner for the tribal government, not because I was an anthropologist but because I had demonstrated the skills required to get the jobs done that the local organization needed.

Once on the job, I was involved with educational evaluation programs in adult basic education, early childhood education, manpower training, and more. Any of these projects would have yielded interesting data for anthropological analysis. But my job was not to do direct program evaluation or to direct educational programs, but to work in overall program coordination and development. To do this, I had to restrain my temptation to become too involved in evaluation research at the expense of the work I was hired to perform. Much of my work required the use of skills I had received through training in anthropology and education. Three examples will suffice: I analyzed the potential impact of proposed federal Indian education legislation and prepared a paper for consideration by the tribal chairman; I was given only one day to prepare a critique of tribal population data prepared by the Census Bureau; two days were spent in documenting the stereotyping and factual errors in a proposed educational television script on Choctaw history for high school students.

Is administration, program coordination, or specific assignments such as these the proper work of an anthropologist? Does performing such work constitute doing anthropology? Certainly not when viewed from an academic perspective. In the academic view, the more proper anthropological approach would have been to work in areas where the tasks assigned yielded maximum data of relevance to the field of anthropology, which data would then have been communicated to the field through professional publication. But from the viewpoint of my employer, the Choctaw Tribe, this would constitute what many agencies and organizations are coming to call "academic data rip-off."

Regardless of whether my work constituted proper anthropology, the type of work I performed is where the jobs are. These are situations where one must produce first in terms of the organization's needs, be it Indian tribe or school district. If such work is to be productive in the academic sense also, such effort must be secondary and often takes place off the job on one's own time.

How do anthropology students prepare for such jobs? First they need job skills, primarily research skills. But these reach far beyond the skills usually identified with anthropology. I found myself making use of skills of terrain analysis and photo interpretation I learned in the army, survey research and demography I acquired in my graduate work in sociology, and understanding of tests and measurement I acquired through courses in education, all in addition to skills in anthropological research.

Beyond these skills, a knowledge of content areas outside anthropology is needed. Regardless of the knowledge anthropologists may have about the history and culture of a people, their ability to use this information in preparing instructional materials is limited unless they have some training in principles of curriculum development and reading. Or an anthropologist working in evaluative research in an educational setting must have some familiarity with research methods in psychology and educational psychology as well as evaluation in content areas.

The required skills and the training in content areas outside anthropology can be acquired through regular course work. What is more difficult to acquire is a self-identity that enables an anthropologist to see non-academic anthropology as valuable and meaningful in and of itself, not as a poor second to academic anthropology. An analysis of the reasons why anthropologists had only limited input in the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the Collier administration stresses this point:

> *Anthropologists . . . who shared this commitment (to the goals of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) and sense of urgency worked easily and effectively with the bureau both as anthropologists and administrators. Others whose commitments to professional and academic standards and to current social science methodology impinged on their work as applied anthropologists encountered hostility not only from local old guard bureau employees but also from the reformers. [Taylor, 1975]*

If anthropologists develop the needed skills and content area training, and begin working in non-academic anthropology, I believe that most will find that it's actually a hell of a lot of fun.

In addition to skills and knowledge, the students must develop direction in locating jobs. This is not an activity that should begin as one nears graduation; rather, anthropologists should begin moving closer to an understanding of job possibilities as they acquire the skills and understanding of non-anthropological content areas. This process is best demonstrated through two examples. In 1972, a young woman came to a CAE meeting wanting to know what anthropology of education was and how she could get a job. By 1974, she was researching a dissertation comparing three supervisors of programs for the disadvantaged. In preparation for her research, she had become an expert on administration of programs for the disadvantaged, had an offer to publish her dissertation when it was complete, and already had several offers of jobs and consultant-ships—all this before she completed her dissertation. Another young woman combined an interest in applied anthropology and environmental concerns and secured a job as a district director of environmental education, again before she completed her dissertation. The jobs are there if anthropologists can get over the academic identity hangup, develop the skills and knowledge across discipline lines, and gain command of content areas outside of anthropology.

A final observation involves the question of role models for the non-academic anthropologist. The two examples given above were both women. Most members of the CAE will have noted the more active role in both participation and leadership played by women in CAE than in the AAA as a whole. Why is this? We all know that in the past women have faced more blockages than men in standard academic career ladders in anthropology. It would seem that within anthropology senior women have been forced to be more creative in developing the broad skills and knowledge of non-anthropological content areas necessary to create non-academic job opportunities for themselves. I believe that the role models for jobs outside academic departments of anthropology are available, most often in the persons of the senior women anthropologists. It is to these anthropologists that the students of today should look for examples.

CAE QUESTIONNAIRE

Have you completed the questionnaire in the centerfold of the February issue of the *Quarterly*? If not, please check off your answers, staple, and mail this week.

THE ANTHROPOLOGIST IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL SETTING

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of an anthropologist in a public school system. My experience in the public schools of Dallas, Texas, dates from late summer 1972, to midsummer 1974. My roles were many and destined to increase with time, had I remained with the public schools.

Before discussing the job description, the benefits and problems of the position need to be mentioned. On the positive side, the salary was comparable to that paid beginning PhDs in universities. In addition, time was allowed for attending professional meetings, and one major trip was paid for annually by the school district whether a paper was read or not. The insurance, retirement, vacation, and sick leave benefits were excellent, and the association with fellow employees was rewarding. Furthermore, teaching courses at local colleges was allowed.

On the negative side was the isolation from other anthropologists. I was the only anthropologist in the entire school system (and, in fact, was referred to by friends as the Dallas schools' token anthropologist!). I was also the only anthropologist in the colleges where I taught while associated with the public schools and found this frustrating, as it always is when you can't find anyone to talk to about what you like to talk about! Still another negative aspect of the job was the fact that some fellow professionals may not award you respect because of your association with a public school system. And, finally, there was the 40-hour week.

My first position with the Dallas schools was that of a field supervisor in a multicultural social studies curriculum project. A Texas-based curriculum design group had developed a social studies program for grades 1-3, using anthropological principles and material throughout but emphasizing anthropology in grade 3. The test scores had been high in grades 1 and 2 the previous year but low in grade 3, with the blame for the low scores attributed to the difficulty of the anthropological material. My future role would be to revise the grade 3 curriculum. The scores improved the second year (probably because most teachers had experience in teaching) but were still low in some units, so that it proved necessary to rewrite certain units. Additionally, curriculum writers employed by the Dallas Independent School District (D.I.S.D.) were writing lesson materials and gave feedback to the writers. I acted as an anthropology resource person for them.

My work in the multicultural education department was challenging. I was frequently called upon to teach a module or to talk informally about the day's subject. I believe that I helped certain teachers and students to better understand other cultures and anthropology. However, I was not totally successful. One day stands out as particularly memorable because of my monumental failure to communicate. A movie on dinosaurs, with the message of why certain species become extinct, had been shown to a 3-grade class. I decided to add to the discussion (when it seemed to me that the message was not coming across) by telling the students that a long time ago dinosaurs lived in Texas and that if they journeyed to the little town of Glen Rose, Texas, they could see their tracks in the shallow creekbeds. I continued with more information on dinosaurs until, finally, a child stood up in his seat in the back of the room, waving his hand frantically. When I acknowledged him, he asked, "How come you know so much about dinosaurs? Were you alive when they were?" I believe I stimulated another student, however, because the next time I visited the class, he confided in me that, "Those dinosaurs tracks really are as big as you said." He had persuaded his parents to take him to Glen Rose.

I often advised teachers in conference on possible ways to enrich their teachings. In addition, teachers asked me to acquaint them with the cultural backgrounds of certain students. I served as a resource person on Native Americans, and either spoke to individual classes or acted as a go-between in obtaining Native American speakers for classes. Another job I had was to act as trouble-shooter when certain Native Americans enrolled in the district. On some occasions, I visited them in their home and provided transportation the day the student enrolled. I took several students to the Public Health Department to obtain their shots. I accompanied some students and parents to the interview with the principal and helped them obtain bus routes and class schedules.

Each summer, I taught in a law-focused class given to Dallas teachers so that, in turn, they could teach what was locally called "Law in a Changing Society." Native American culture and the Kpelle of Liberia are studied in both the 5th and 7th grades. My daily 3-hour presentations included a discussion of law from an anthropological perspective. I presented various teaching

techniques as well as a body of instructional material. The last summer, I taught the same course at the University of Oklahoma.

Another role I had was to assist one school each year with a Multi-Ethnic Heritage Week. Each day during the week, a single culture was stressed. Students in music, gym, and art classes worked for weeks before learning music, games, and art forms from the cultures and performed the distinctive ethnic activity on the day that culture was stressed. Speakers or films constituted the assembly; display cases were filled with artifacts from the specific culture; the intercom played ethnic music. Although I *do* not recommend that such a week be held in most schools because the cultures are discussed only that week and forgotten about the rest of the school year, this was not the case at this school. The administration of the school labored daily to ease racial tensions. Every day was a multi-ethnic day in that a concerted effort was made to include all students in school activities and to appreciate their cultural heritage.

The second year, the superintendent assigned me to a special project called "Improving a Climate for Excellence" (I.C.E.). The project's task was to train administrators in shared decision-making techniques and communication skills in order to improve inter-relationships of all kinds in each school. I was assigned to one area high school and its feeder schools and felt some progress was made in the areas of increasing cultural awareness, decreasing tension among ethnic groups, and improving communication between that principal and his fellow principals, faculty, staff, and community.

The process involved in obtaining and implementing the program was instructive. Throughout the year 1972-73, school board members and administrators met with selected teachers, students, and Parent Teacher Association (P.T.A.) representatives to formalize a list of school concerns. Each faculty member, PTA member, and principal then was asked to rank his or her priorities in order of importance. These priorities were tallied: the first priority was to ease tensions in the local school. A federal grant proposal to implement this priority was submitted and was awarded. Twenty pilot schools were selected, with the superintendent addressing the 20 principals of the pilot schools on the importance of the project. Throughout the year, the superintendent attended all Project I.C.E. sessions and demonstrated his commitment to the project. Each principal selected an advisory group made up of assistant principals, counselors, teachers, PTA representatives and students to assist him at the local school level to find sources of tension and to implement programs to relieve such tension.

This year, had I remained with DISD, I would have continued with Project I.C.E., and, in addition, I would have worked on a new drug education program and in the Affirmative Action Office.

My advice to any one going into the public school as an anthropologist is to acquaint the top administrative personnel with your potential contribution. Arrange an interview with the superintendent and with the superintendent of personnel. Know your communication department staff and enlist their support in giving publicity to projects you as an anthropologist are involved in. Finally, if you have such an inclination, ask to be attached to the research-evaluation department of the public school system (Knowledge of statistical techniques is essential). In this department you should be in a position to do research on educational programs, public relations, and community surveys.s. In Texas, as in certain other states, a teacher's certificate is required for employment in public schools except in some specialized departments like research and evaluation and communication.

The anthropologist can serve a public school system in many capacities. The bureaucratic system is the most difficult stumbling block, but once the anthropologist learns to manipulate the system he or she can become a valuable member of the staff. Still another pitfall is overcoming biases. Not to have come up in the ranks is a big handicap in public school administration because most administrators started in the classroom or as an elementary school principal. They and teachers alike resent a person with little or no public school experience becoming an administrator. Another bias is being a female in a male-oriented administrative system. Still another, for me, was the difficulty of being a sage in a situation where many administrators had been former teachers or principals when I was a student in the Dallas public schools. "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country."

ON BARGAINING WITH THE DEVIL: CONTRACT ETHNOGRAPHY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN FIELDWORK

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Abt Associates, Inc.

In recent years, there has been increased interest in training ethnographers for work roles outside of academic settings. This interest reflects a number of factors, which include a changing employment market for trained ethnographers, the increased number of ethnographers who are concerned with the relationship of the discipline to the modern world, and the growing recognition that the types of training currently available in graduate departments need modification for those students who have non-academic career goals. This paper takes the position that graduate departments are ill-prepared to undertake the new types of training needed. Although there are several reasons why this is so, the focus here is the orientation of traditional training for what may be called the intrepid independent—the lone scholar whose major career commitments rest upon individual achievements within the constraints created by professional disciplinary considerations. This type of career commitment works well in academic settings but is not compatible with some kinds of non-traditional employment.

To illustrate this last point, it is helpful to look at the traditional ethnographer as a member of a special occupational group. For the most part, the ethnographer's occupational role is guided by career concerns that emphasize personal autonomy and achievement. This begins early in one's career as neophytes learn to independently create the novel paper that will win a professor's approval and thereby gain a mark of superior individual achievement. The same ethos is carried over into fieldwork as the ethnographer settles the issues of role viability and "going native" on the basis of data collection—performances that gain access to information are maximized while behaviors that hinder knowledge flow are minimized. The career concern with autonomy also figures in establishing a professional identity because demonstrating one's expertise demands that one publish single-authored works—publications that are co-authored are viewed less favorably than those that represent the work of one person (Ross, 1974).

The goal of traditional preparation is to recruit people capable of occupying the role of the lone scholar with the ability to create pattern and meaning from a host of disparate data. Nowhere is this more clearly revealed than in fieldwork, the ethnographer's *rite de passage*. Whatever else fieldwork in the ethnographic tradition is, it rests upon one person living among a group and attempting to understand the hold life has on the chosen people. If one is to accomplish this goal, one must be an autonomous individual capable of withstanding the rigors of being alone in an alien environment. Indeed, professional achievement demands this. An ethnographer without field experience is an existential contradiction—to describe the hold that life has on humans requires participation and observation.

The number of niches available to support the carriers of ethnographic tradition are undergoing change. One new kind of ethnographic niche is in policy research because "there is no body of methods, no comprehensive methodology, for the study of the impact of public policy as an aid to future policy" (Coleman, 1972). In the absence of certain methodology, some policy research utilizes multi-disciplinary, systems engineering-oriented approaches to study aspects of American education. In this kind of endeavor, the ethnographer occupies the role of research component, a situation that Wolcott (1975) described as "contract ethnography."

Contract ethnography is much different in its structure and demands than the ethnographer's traditional domain. In contrast to the emphasis on personal autonomy and achievement, the necessities of this kind of non-academic employment requires that the ethnographer occupy a role that integrates the performances of a fieldworker with those of a minor bureaucratic functionary whose activities are amenable to systems engineering programming and accountability procedures. The remainder of this paper will sketch some of the salient characteristics of this new role so that others may know something of its promises and demands.

This role is a result of the national political debate on public education. In 1972, the Congress of the United States held hearings on unequal educational opportunity. Testimony demonstrated that various populations suffered from a lack of equal opportunity, particularly rural populations (Horner, 1971). This led Congress to put educational policy at providing "every person an equal opportunity to receive an education of high quality regardless of his race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or social class" (Public Law 92).

With the need apparent and the policy defined, members of the U.S. Office of Education's Experimental Schools Program drafted legislation that would extend their program's funding from urban to rural schools. The goals of the program were ambitious—to help fund systematic comprehensive change in selected rural school districts. Comprehensiveness was defined by Experi-

mental Schools as change in five major components: (1) community participation, (2) staff development, (3) curriculum development, (4) administration, and (5) use of time, space, and facilities. To ensure that local change agents received the information necessary to manage this endeavor, a local formative evaluation effort was also funded. The rural school districts that participated in this program thus became examples of self-regulating systems undergoing change. Periodic reports to the staff of Experimental Schools, plus site visits by a project officer, ensured that systems engineering accountability procedures were followed.

This systems management approach also played a part in selecting a summative evaluation research program. Research contractors were invited to submit proposals that showed how they would measure change in the selected school districts. Abt Associates, Inc., a private research organization founded in 1965 by a political scientist with systems engineering experience, submitted the winning design. Project Rural, as the design was called, proposed a blend of ideographic and nomothic studies. The ideographic studies, a site history and an ethnography, were to be written by fieldworkers. The nomothic studies, cross-site studies focusing on student, organizational, and community change, were to be written by survey researchers located in Cambridge, Massachusetts. To ensure that the survey researchers gained adequate feedback, fieldworkers were to act as questionnaire reviewers, data collectors, and as "expert informants." Program planning and budgeting carried out in Cambridge coordinated the various research tasks. Thus, the research effort also became an example of a self-regulating system.

This systems engineering approach to an integration of research styles is a methodological innovation in the social sciences. Sieber (1973) examined the "historical antagonism" that exists between fieldwork and survey methodology. In looking at the few examples of research that integrated both research styles, Sieber concluded, "The adjustments in traditional research designs called for by the integration of field and survey methods would seem to produce a new style of research." When integration includes ethnographers as a programmed component, "a rather difficult transition period" (Fitzsimmons, 1975) ensues as ethnographic tradition collides with the exigencies of contracted systems engineering-oriented research.

The ethnographic literature on fieldwork contains at least one account of the intrepid independent caught up in a similar research effort. Vidich and Bensman (1971) reported on Vidich's experience as an independent researcher housed within a larger research effort. While they acknowledged that *Small Town In Mass Society* could not have been written save as a by-product of a formal, organized research structure, they conceptualized the problems inherent in this kind of effort by contrasting what they labeled "programmed and non-programmed" research. Programmed research refers to survey methodology because its structure and design are created by people familiar with literature problems but ignorant of local research populations. This activity is amenable to programmed time schedules, termination points, product delivery, and annual reports.

In marked contrast to programmed research stands unprogrammed activity. Unprogrammed research is ethnographic research, the activity that lays bare the hold life has on humans through allowing the research population to define their universe. Any planning is thus dependent upon local events and not upon predetermined problems, questions, or time schedules. As Vidich and Bensman described unprogrammed research:

> *It was our experience that by and large the logic of a problem has its own internal dynamic which means that once one has embarked on the pursuit of the problem and is willing to follow its logics, he must* administer *in terms of where the problem leads and not in terms of prearranged schedules.*

After exploring the tensions that arise when the two research styles are mixed, Vidich and Bensman concluded that bureaucratic constraints make unprogrammed research all but impossible. They then gave voice to the ethnographic tradition by noting that only the intrepid independent, the lone scholar, has the possibility of being able to rise above the routine and mechanics of research, for it is the work of the individual scholar that "is perhaps the sole source of creativity."

While the sentiment behind this statement is firmly wedded to ethnographic tradition, the role occupied by fieldworkers in Project Rural is different than that described by Vidich and Bensman because it is an attempt to integrate the role of minor bureaucratic functionary with that of independent scholar. The fieldworker is required to create a site-specific history and an ethnographic case study that deals with community, school, and a program of planned educational change, as well as to facilitate survey methodology techniques. Because the formal training of the ethnographers did not include grounding in multi-disciplinary research, contract ethnography, or systems theory, socialization in this new role resembled culture shock.

This new role has been conceptualized by Abt Associates, Inc., in a manner congruent with systems engineering accountability procedures. In a semi-annual performance review, which fieldworkers dubbed a "report card," the role is divided into six major components. These are: (1) viability on site, (2) case study development, (3) cross-site study facilitation, (4) managerial liaison with Cambridge, (5) managerial liaison with other fieldworkers, and (6) professional development.

Each of these major components is subdivided into minor components, which are given numerical ratings by both fieldworkers and the Cambridge staff. The resulting document gives a quantitative profile of a fieldworker's performance as both a minor bureaucratic functionary and as an independent scholar. As such, it assumes the two activities are compatible. In point of fact, they are sometimes in conflict.

This can be seen in the setting of local research priorities. When the completed form is shared with the fieldworker, he or she has a visible reminder of individual worth as this is perceived in Cambridge. Since the quantitative profile is used to help set fieldworker salaries, the semi-annual performance review can be viewed as both an accountability device and as a document that guides local effort because the fiscally prudent course for the fieldworker is to make certain that all ratings reflect strength. Because Cambridge is most aware of the fieldworker's cross-site study facilitation and managerial liaison with Cambridge, this entails substituting Cambridge priorities for local priorities.

To give just one example: Because the management system that governs activity on Project Rural calls for the gathering of survey material for the community change study prior to ethnographic fieldwork, this fieldworker was introduced to major parts of his community as a door-to-door question-asker with a set of queries designed by a methodologist in Cambridge. The activity associated with this research style forced the fieldworker to ask intrusive questions of community members and thereby created a social identity that had consequences for ethnographic inquiry (Clinton, 1975). It was extremely difficult to participate in some informal activities when other actors had come to view the fieldworker as a "spy" because of formal interview schedules. As one respondent told a third party during an informal exchange in a gasoline station, "Be careful what you say to him. He'll tell Washington."

Problems with the program planning and budgeting set by Project Rural's management system were not confined to just one fieldworker. For the first year-and-a-half, fieldworkers brought task scheduling problems to Cambridge's attention. As one fieldworker put it, "Cambridge activities are eating into the case studies and now threaten to devour them. This indicates to me that the case studies do not really count in anyone's eyes." As one result of fieldworker perceptions, the program planning was altered to allow fieldworkers more time to ply their craft.

The role presented in the report card is not complete. Fieldworkers in Project Rural are also held accountable by another audience—the Experimental Schools Program's research monitor. At the beginning of employment, fieldworkers knew nothing of this office. Fieldworkers were recruited by Abt Associates, Inc., with the understanding that their duties would be to facilitate cross-site studies and to develop site-specific documents. The major document, the case study, was to be consistent with the dictates of the fieldworker's discipline and interests (Fitzsimmons, 1975). The only constraint was that the case study had to deal with planned change in the schools in some meaningful fashion. Then came a process of renegotiation between Cambridge and the Experimental Schools Program staff. Fieldworkers learned that their "role must change."

The reasons for this change began with Congressional displeasure with the National Institute of Education, which had become the organization that housed the Experimental Schools Program. The director of the Institute was unable to convince legislators that the agency was funding worthwhile projects. As a result, the National Institute of Education was given a budget smaller than it had requested.

This led the staff of the National Institute of Education to review all projects funded by various programs. One of the criteria used in judging research was that these programs had to be systematically examining practices of educational importance. As one result, fieldworkers on Project Rural learned for the first time that their case studies must be:

1. Relevant (i.e., address important concerns of the funding agency, rural school districts, or rural communities as a context of education).
2. Useful (i.e., provide information of use to educators, administrators, policy makers, or researchers in helping them to better understand problems in rural education).
3. Explanatory (i.e., better explain why and how education, and programs for educational change, work, or fail in achieving their goals).

This set of expectations came from a series of meetings between fieldworkers and the Experimental Schools' research monitor. Fieldworkers were of the opinion that these meetings were designed to allow the research monitor to help formulate case studies (Clinton, 1975). One fieldworker's response to these meetings was to write a memorandum for both Cambridge staff and the research monitor suggesting that the ethnographic component was being directed away from the interrelationships between community and school and toward "a journalistic coverage of school 'events' which could better be written by someone trained in news-reporting than anthropology." The memorandum quoted the research monitor's justification for this change as "it is not good anthropology that we are interested in. This research is not being written for the anthropological community." A more pointed reason for the change in research priorities came to light during a dinner conversation with a National Institute of Education official. As he put it, "There's poor little NIE

fighting for its life. What're you doing to help?" Clearly, the value of traditional ethnographic research was being measured on a set of scales that were fashioned in budget hearings.

Such political considerations are not as alien to the ethnographer as they might first appear. In fact, they are the functional equivalents of the ethnographer's own career decisions. Just as the funding agency has a stake in its continued existence, so does the ethnographer have a stake in the continuation of Project Rural. For the ethnographer, Project Rural offers the chance to participate in a multi-disciplinary study on the nature of community and education in rural America. Participation offers professional employment at an attractive salary and holds the promise of considerable professional exposure. The value of Project Rural to the ethnographer's career, then, is most clear. What is not clear is the cost of such participation.

This essay has shown that participation in this kind of research encourages changes in a traditional role. These adjustments are both difficult and have consequences for traditional styles of ethnographic research. It is an open question how many of these adjustments can be made if the resulting product is to be ethnography. This question should concern the discipline because it asks whether ethnographic traditions are compatible with new employment opportunities. And, if we cannot arrive at an answer, we may have to settle for the negative judgements of our critics (Mulhauser, 1975). These can limit the future growth of the discipline.

In summary, this paper has sketched some of the salient compromises that an ethnographer must make in order to exist within the constraints of contract ethnography in an engineering systems-oriented research project. The tradition of the lone scholar is not compatible with the demands of this new employment opportunity, yet it is precisely this tradition that ethnography perpetuates. In considering future roles for ethnographers, the American anthropological "establishment" would be wise to consider the nature of the roles that ethnographers outside of academia will have in the future. Graduate training programs may then begin to give realistic courses geared to non-academic employment opportunities. An excellent beginning might well include training in team research and negotiating strategies.

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INDIAN MUSIC

Canyon Records, 4143 N. 16th St., Phoenix, Arizona 85016, has available a catalogue of North American Indian music, including a collection by Dr. Louis W. Ballard of American Indian Music for the classroom or library.

EDITORSHIP OF THE *QUARTERLY* OPEN

President John Herzog is serving as coordinator of the Search Committee for a new editor. If you are interested, send John your vita, with a description of the production and printing facilities available at your institution.

TEACHING ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE COLLEGE LEVEL

Dward A. Moore, Jr.
Special Editor

This section of the Quarterly is devoted to an exchange of ideas on the teaching of anthropology. Course descriptions, philosophical statements, reactions, and comments are welcome. Persons with material to contribute are requested to send them to the editor, Jamestown Community College, Jamestown NY 14701.

[Ed. Note: *The Study and Teaching of Anthropology: An Annotated Bibliography*, by Susan Dwyer-Shick of Pennsylvania State University, is now available from the Anthropology-Curriculum Project, University of Georgia, 107 Dudley Hall, Athens GA 30601. Her bibliography covers over a century of the study and teaching of anthropology at college and pre-college levels. It will be a valuable resource tool for teachers of anthropology and social studies at all levels as well as those interested in the history of the social sciences. Available April-May, 1976; price $2.00.

Two articles appearing in this section in a previous issue (November 1975) discussed the inclusion of anthropology in interdisciplinary courses. In her article below, Helen Peterson describes how she has worked with students of English as a Second Language in developing composition skills. While the situation is unique, many of us find ourselves faced with similar problems. Professor Peterson's basic goal was to teach anthropology and English composition at the same time. Her results are impressive.

Given the limited resources of most departments these days and the limited availability of area experts, Douglas Caulkins has developed a unique solution. In his paper, he describes his use of correspondence via tape recordings by which students can get first-hand accounts of field experiences. This seems to offer an exciting alternative to the reading assignments students are usually subjected to.]

TEACHING ANTHROPOLOGY TO STUDENTS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

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In traditional college curricula for teaching composition to foreign students, grammar is taught first and composition later. At Brooklyn College, for example, students of English as a Second Language are required to take three E.S.L. courses before they take an English composition course. The consequence is that students cannot write formal compositions until their third term in college. Students are, nonetheless, enrolled in courses in which they must write essays.

To solve the problem of essay-writing, the students need to be taught English grammar as used in essays. The ideal approach, I surmise, is one in which the grammar is taught in a standard academic course, such as anthropology, sociology, or history. The expected outcome from such an approach is that students would be able to apply their knowledge of English grammar when writing academic papers.

This suggested method was tested in an English as a Second Language course offered at Brooklyn College. The students were at the twelfth-grade level in reading and below twelfth-grade level in writing and listening, yet they were taking college courses for credit. Their immediate objective was to pass their credit courses; therefore, their written work had to be clear so that the instructor could determine what the student understood; it also had to be logical, consistent, and grammatical.

To teach grammar effectively, the following changes were made: (a) grammar was taught within the context of the essay; (b) cultural anthropology was added to the composition and grammatical exercises; and (c) the sentence structure used by students was simplified. Teaching anthropology increases logic because the discipline is analytical. In teaching about hunting-and-gathering, for example, it was possible to elicit from the students understanding of the basic means of production and survival needs. The following is an outline of the course.

I. Hunting and Gathering

A. *Read:* "In the Far North" from *English for Today, Book III.*

B. *Write:* "Eskimos Use Seals."

C. *Method:* (1) State three or more basic activities related to Eskimo survival; (2) Development: Describe and discuss any two of the activities; (3) Conclusion: Answer the question, "How does each activity aid Eskimo adaptation to Arctic environment?"

II. Herding

A. *Read:* "In the Desert" from *English for Today, Book III.*

B. *Write:* "Nomads Survive in the Desert."

C. *Method:* (1) State three basic survival activities of

the Nomads: (2) Development: Answer the questions, (a) "Why do Nomads travel?" (b) "Why do Nomads domesticate animals?" (c) "Why do they trade?"

Reading materials were taken from *English for Today, Book III*, by the National Council of Teachers of English (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964). This book contains short stories on a day in the life of a hunting-gathering family and a herding family. The following is an excerpt from the ESL reader:

> *This was an important day for Alatook, and he had eaten his breakfast quickly. For the first time he was going to hunt seals alone.*

There are two advantages in using the above book in a cultural anthropology course for ESL students—one is that the language is simple and graded to an ESL level. The second advantage is that it allows the students to experience a transition from narrative writing to analytical writing. The former is natural to most beginning students; the latter must be taught. ESL students as well as native speakers have difficulty in distinguishing between narrative and analytical writing. Evidence of this difficulty can be seen in their practice—they often fail to write an analysis when it is mandatory. They write, instead, narration or description. Transformation of narratives into analytical essays served as a basis for introducing anthropological concepts. The base concepts are imbedded in the outline. An example of an outline used for translating the narratives into essay form is given below:

General Topic: "Hunting and Gathering"
Title: *Eskimos Use Seals*
Introduction: Fill in the necessary subjects and objects.
_____ hunt _____
_____ kill _____
_____ skin _____

Development: Fill in the necessary verbs and subjects.
A. Seal skin _____ boat covers.
_____ boots
_____ mittens.
B. Seal oil _____ lubrication.
_____ heat.
_____ cooking.

Conclusion: Fill in the necessary verbs and subjects.
Seals _____ survival needs.
_____ food.
_____ shelter.

An Expected Outcome From Students' Use of the Above Outline

Introduction: Eskimos hunt seals.
Eskimos kill seals.
Eskimos skin seals.
Development: Seal skin makes boat covers.
Seal skin makes boots.
Seal skin makes mittens.
Seal oil provides lubrication.
Seal oil provides heat.
Seal oil provides cooking.
Conclusion: Seals provide survival necessities.
Seals provide food.
Seals provide shelter.

The above outline, although previously prepared for instruction, was elicited from the students through discussions. Students read the narratives and were asked analytical questions on them. The narratives provided the information which was translated into essay form.

The outline was also used to correct basic composition errors, syntactical and organizational. Syntactical errors included run-on sentences and sentence fragments. To correct sentence fragments, it was necessary to teach students to find missing subjects or verbs. In order to help the student do this a verb from the introductory paragraph was placed in the center of the sentences so that the student could fill in the necessary subjects. It is clear from the student's progress in the composition below that the exercises in the outlines achieved the student's objectives:

> *The Nomads travel continuously in the desert. In the desert they travel to reach the town. They also travel to find new pastures and water, for them and their animals. For them travel is very necessary. Without travel, they would not be able to trade. Without trade there would be a lack of survival essentials. These survival essentials are meat, vegetables, clothing and other supplies. Therefore, travel is very important, without it the nomads could not feed or cloth themselves.*

This paragraph is an example of a student's mid-term composition. There are no sentence fragments or other grammatical errors and the paragraph is well-developed. The student's reasoning shows the application of the analytical outlines. All students showed similar progress throughout the 13 weeks of classroom instruction.

COURSE DESIGN & TAPED CORRESPONDENCE WITH EXPERTS ON OTHER CAMPUSES
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This article has two aims: first—to describe the use of taped exchanges with experts from other campuses to enrich a course on hunter-gatherers, and second—to discuss the course in relation to Harold's critique of student-centered teaching (1972).

Until recently, anthropology texts and case studies have given only cursory attention to fieldwork, but with the rise of self-consciousness in ethnography (Nash and Wintrob, 1972) we have become aware of the need to reveal to our students, both beginning and advanced, more about the realities of collecting and interpreting ethnographic data. If the meaning of data is closely tied to the manner in which it is collected, as Freilich argues (1970), students must be acquainted with this phase of research before they can develop the critical tools needed to evaluate anthropological studies. Although a growing number of publications oriented toward this need are becoming available (Spindler, 1970; Glazer, 1972), there is no substitute for the immediacy of a direct exchange between researcher and student.

When we teach a course in a culture type or culture area which is outside our field experience, as many of us do, we may feel the need to enrich the course with personal contact between our students and an authority who can discuss the fieldwork, analysis, and interpretations which support the printed reports. Unfortunately, plans to import guest speakers from distant campuses often run afoul of budgetary and scheduling problems. These problems can be minimized by a compromise solution I developed recently in a lower-division course on hunter-gatherers, a culture type which is not my research specialty. Rather than bring Peter Gardner, an authority on South Asian hunters, to campus, I arranged for him to correspond with the class by tape-recording.

As the syllabus below indicates, the students read publications in which Gardner hypothesized a relationship between the social structure of the Paliyan forages of South India and two types of environmental pressures, natural and interculturál. Paliyan bilateralism, he suggests, is associated with natural pressures, while aggression-avoidance and symmetrical interpersonal relations may be an adaptation to intercultural pressures. Gardner incorporates these variables into a general model of change among hunter-gatherers, a model which became the focus of a major substantive goal of the course.

The pedagogical goals expressed in the syllabus were inspired by a critique of the student-centered teaching methods of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many failings of both traditional and student-centered methods, according to Harold (1972), are traceable to the idealism which is found in both approaches. By "idealism," Harold means the "tendency to experience ideas as abstracted from concrete, social experiences of the people holding them, as well as to abstract the people themselves from their actual classroom and other social situations." This tendency appears remarkably similar to the one prevalent in anthropology prior to the recent increase in attention to the social and psychological context of fieldwork—the rise of self-consciousness mentioned above. As Sartre (in Diamond, 1975) notes, "there are two ways to fall into idealism: The one consists in dissolving the real into subjectivity; the other in denying all real subjectivity in the interest of objectivity." Student-centered teaching methods went the first route into idealism, while anthropology, until recently, went the second.

Among the classroom manifestations of idealism which Harold cites are the tendency for instructors to cling to a value-free stance, for class discussions of literature to be couched in terms of universals which obscure the concrete social contexts of the works, and for paper-writing to become an abstract exercise in which the intended audience is solely the instructor, never the student's peers. Collective goals fail to appeal to these students, Harold observes. They tend to see classes as something happening to them and feel no responsibility for the success or failure of the course. In response to this apathy, progressive teachers attempt to generate interest by freeing students from the traditional structure and discipline of the classroom. Harold lists some of their techniques: class meetings held at odd hours in relaxed, non-classroom settings; encounter group techniques; and poems, short stories and other "creative" responses solicited in place of traditional essays. Most of these approaches, unfortunately, have very little to do with the task at hand—achieving the substantive goals of the course.

The literature course that Harold describes as an alternative to student-centered approaches does not adapt easily to the needs of anthropology, although some of his ideas proved useful in my course on hunter-gatherers. In my course, I try to be clear about goals and means, attempt to break down the exclusivity of dydadic student-teacher communication, encourage some collective work toward collective goals, and attempt to discover the social and psychological context in which our data were generated and interpreted.

The syllabus below describes the course as it was offered in 1974; I have not attempted to include more recent materials. Following the syllabus, I discuss the tape-recorded correspondence with Peter Gardner.

Syllabus

Brief Course Description

An examination of humankind's once universal way of life in light of theories of culture change and ecological adaptation; case studies and films of recent or contemporary hunter-gatherers in a variety of habitats. Each case study reveals not only the way of life of the group but also the relationship between the anthropologist and the people studied. Finally, we ask what this

disappearing way of life reveals about human nature and the prospects for our civilization. No prerequisities.

Substantive Goals

(1) To become familiar with the variety of hunting-gathering adaptations which survived into the 19th and 20th centuries. **Means:** Coon's survey of *The Hunting Peoples*, a series of ethnographies, ethnographic films, and independent research in the Human Relations Area Files provide this background.

(2) To explore competing hypotheses concerning social and cultural change among hunter-gatherers. How are these changes related to intraspecific aggression and social hierarchy? What kinds of cultural responses are likely under various forms of stress? **Means:** Peter Gardner's hypotheses (see reading list) can be tested with case studies and data from the Human Relations Area Files. Louise Sweet's general typology of stresses and cultural responses help to place the study of hunter-gatherers in a wider context.

(3) To explore the nature of personal relationships between anthropologists and the hunters they study: How do these representatives of distinct cultures accommodate to each other? The anthropologist experiences these cultures for us; what can this experience tell us about ourselves? **Means:** Each of the case studies gives some glimpse of the personality of the anthropologist and his or her reflections upon the fieldwork experience. See especially Briggs' and Turnbull's books on the reading list.

(4) To stimulate students to develop a more sophisticated (but not definitive) view of human nature. **Means:** The cumulative effect of the course materials should force you to reflect on these issues. Although this is a course about hunter-gatherers, it is also about complex societies, about us. See the discussions of this point in the studies by Gould and Turnbull.

Pedagogical Goals

(1) To involve you and your classmates in a non-competitive intellectual enterprise in which you must cooperate in order to achieve the substantive goals of the course. **Means:** Each student's final exam is partially dependent on the collective work of the class in compiling information from the Human Relations Area Files. Written assignments, such as discussion questions and film critiques, are directed toward the other members of the class rather than the instructor alone.

(2) To sharpen your ability to ask provocative, insightful questions of the course materials. **Means:** The hypothesis-testing approach described under the second substantive goal is a process of formulating and answering questions. The main written assignments require you to pose discussion questions for the class.

(3) To stimulate a serious analytical approach toward film as ethnography. **Means:** Heider's essay on ethnographic film will give you a framework for thinking about film as a serious medium for communicating information. Your film critiques will give you an opportunity to articulate your ideas to the class.

(4) To involve you in a dialogue with an authority on hunter-gatherers. **Means:** Professor Peter Gardner is interested in our efforts to test the adequacy of his hypotheses. He will correspond with us by tape recording.

Course Content

(1) An overview of hunting-gathering as an adaptation. The received image of the poor, nasty, brutish, and short lifes of hunter-gatherers. Recent research and the revised images of the affluence and diversity of foraging adaptations. **Readings:** C. Coon, *The Hunting Peoples*, chapters 1-7. M. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, chapter 1. K. Heider, "The Attributes of Ethnographic Film" in *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* Newsletter, Vol. 3, No. 2. **Films:** *Cave People of the Philippines.*

(2) A theoretical framework for the study of change among hunter-gatherers. Environmental and intercultural stresses: case studies of cultural responses. Measuring change: Hockett on scheduling and Barth on time and resource allocation. **Readings:** P. Gardner, "Symmetric respect and memorate knowledge: the structure and ecology of individualistic culture," 22:4 *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 389, Winter 1966. P. Gardner, "Paliyan Social Structure," *Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies*, Ottawa: National Museums of Canada (Bulletin No. 228). 1969. L.E. Sweet, "Culture and aggressive action," in C. Otten (ed.), *Aggression and Evolution*, Lexington, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing. E.M. Thomas, *The Harmless People* (optional). T. Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds.* L. Marshall, "The Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert," in J.L. Gibbs (ed.), *Peoples of Africa*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. **Films:** *The Hunters. Acorns: Staple Food of the California Indians.*

(3) Social and political organization of hunter-gatherers. **Readings:** C. Coon, *The Hunting Peoples*, chapters 8-12. R. Gould, *Yiwara: Foragers of the Australian Desert.* **Film:** *Desert People.*

(4) Ideology and religion among hunter-gatherers. **Readings:** C. Coon, *The Hunting Peoples*, chapters 13-17. C. Turnbull, *The Forest People.* **Film:** *Pygmies of Africa.*

(5) Relationships between anthropologists and hunter-gatherers. Anthropologists as change agents. **Readings:** A. Holmberg, *Nomads of the Long Bow.* J. Briggs, *Never in Anger.* C. Turnbull, *The Mountain People.* **Film:** *The Hazda.*

Assignments and Tests

(1) Midterm exam over factual materials from the readings, lectures, and films. Your score on this exam is not computed in your final grade, but you must pass the exam to satisfy the course requirements. If you fail the first exam you will have an opportunity to take the exam again one week later. The exam will be scored on an absolute scale, rather than a curve which places you in competition with your classmates. This should encourage you and your classmates to study together for the exam. **Rationale:** The purpose of the exam is to assure a mastery of the factual materials which will be needed to complete the graded assignments discussed below.

(2) Three written questions for class discussion. These questions should deal with current course materials and should be calculated to stimulate analysis rather than recapitulation of those materials. Assignments will be scheduled so that no more than five students will submit questions for a single discussion period. Put a signed, dated copy of the question on reserve in the library at least two days prior to the discussion period. **Rationale:** One of the most important skills a student can develop is the art of asking good questions. Your contribution of discussion questions will help make you responsible for an active, rather than passive, role in the class. Since the author of each question is identified, you can speak with him or her outside of class, discuss the question, ask for clarification, or suggest an alternative interpretation.

(3) On ethnographic film critique, approximately two pages, single spaced for economical reproduction. The critique can deal with one film or several. Heider's essay on ethnographic film raises some basic issues; your critique should discuss specific examples of how and what we can learn from the films of hunter-gatherers. The films, you will discover, vary greatly in quality. At least one other student will read your critique. **Rationale:** The films, which are coordinated with the readings and lectures, are an important source of information. By making your critiques available to other students I hope to discourage the notion that assignments should be private communications between the student and instructor.

(4) A team report on one hunting-gathering culture, based on research in the Human Relations Area Files at the University of Iowa. You and one or two teammates will write a concise five page ethnographic profile on the culture, concentrating on the variables discussed in the papers by Sweet and Gardner. The goal is to assemble data which will enable us to test the usefulness of Gardner's model of culture change. Your profile should be condensed to one page for distribution to other members of the class. Prepare a list of questions which might be directed to Peter Gardner concerning his hypotheses or our test of them. **Rationale:** See course goals.

(5) Final exam, either oral or written, on the following: (a) A question which you formulate and submit for approval, dealing with the topic of the anthropologist's relationship to hunter-gatherers. (b) Examine the usefulness of Gardner's model of culture change among hunter-gatherers. For data, use the assigned case studies and the ethnographic profiles collected by you and your classmates. Are Gardner's hypotheses supported or not? If not, what modifications would you suggest? (c) For two case studies, examine in detail the scheduling of behavior in daily, seasonal and life cycles. Show how this scheduling has changed or is changing. If possible, relate these changes to the stresses enumerated in the articles by Sweet and Gardner. **Rationale:** The final exam develops directly out of the course goals.

Discussion

Originally I suggested that Gardner begin our taped correspondence with a 20- to 30-minute informal lecture followed several weeks later by a taped reply to written questions submitted by students. This latter exchange had to be abandoned due to differences between the academic calendars of our two institutions and the pressures of other responsibilities. The initial lecture proved even more useful than anticipated. I had asked Gardner to consider three topics: critical events in his fieldwork among the Paliyan, the development of his ethnographic analysis of the group, and finally, the direction of his current research (for other model questions, see Freilich, 1970; Kimball and Watson, 1972; Foster and Kemper, 1974; Lofland, 1971). Gardner's response was thorough, showed insight, and touched on most of the issues raised in the syllabus. The students heard a detailed account of the challenges of conducting fieldwork among the Paliyan, an extremely mobile and quiet people; of their daily round of activities; of some of the difficulties of establishing an appropriate role in the group; and of the potential bias of a fieldworker's over-compatibility with a culture. Gardner talked of the occasions when bits and pieces of data began to fit together into an interpretation, of rethinking the interpretation in response to criticism, and of the theoretical disagreements between himself and some other students of hunter-gatherers. He outlined a sequence of changes which may have created chronic refugee foragers, speculated about the broader significance of interpersonal symmetry in relation to the concept of anarchy and, finally, described his recent work on intracultural variability, an interest which emerged from his research with the Paliyan.

Gardner's taped lecture, which ran for more than an hour, was too rich to be used in one or two class periods, discussed briefly, and then disregarded in the rush to get

on with the course. This, unfortunately, is the usual fate of a guest lecture: its impact is ephemeral because students (and sometimes their instructors) regard it as a welcome diversion from the serious work of the course. To give Gardner's tape the extended consideration it deserved, I edited it into a series of topical segments which I played in classes throughout the first month of the course to complement the daily reading assignment, raise issues for discussion, or introduce a lecture topic. Occasionally, I replayed a segment later in the course when students could deal with the issues on a more sophisticated level. Used systematically over a number of class periods, with discussion of each major point in relation to the other course materials, the tape was a versatile and effective teaching device.

By several measures, including student evaluations, the course was a success. Both the general approach and the specific technique of taped correspondence can be adapted to other courses. Busy professors who cannot spare a day or more to lecture at a distant campus may be much less reluctant to participate in a taped exchange which requires only small blocks of free time spread over a period of days. Taped correspondence may be more inexpensive than the traditional visiting lecturer program, although each pedagogical device has its own advantages. Teachers involved in curriculum design might consider some combination of these two approaches to the enrichment of courses.

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PROFESSIONAL NEWS

EDGAR LEE HEWETT: A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE FATHER OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION

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Many practitioners of our science regard Edgar Lee Hewett (1865-1946) as "the father of anthropology and education." Yet, few of us possess more than the slightest knowledge of Hewett's life and work. This brief article will present several basic facts of Hewett's biography and scholarship, thereby broadening our own professional perspectives on our field.

The disciplines of "anthropology" and "education" were first linked by Edgar Lee Hewett at the turn of the century with the publication of two articles. In discussing the historical emergence of "anthropology and education," George Spindler maintains that "Anthropology has been applied to educational problems since at least 1904, when Hewett wrote his first pieces on

education for the *American Anthropologist* (1904, 1905). [Spindler, 1961, p.53]

In the first of these articles, "Anthropology and Education" (1904), Hewett presents a simple argument. He merely voices the now-familiar call for anthropological research on educational topics and for a firm place in public school curricula for the subject of the "science of man."[1] Hewett summarizes: "In short, anthropology should enrich the course of study of every public school in the land, and the greatest line of progress now open to science is in this direction." [Hewett, 1904, p.575] In the second article, "Ethnic Factors in Education" (1905), Hewett constructs an equally simple argument containing three points which are of contemporary interest. First, schools and teachers should appreciate and understand the nature and dynamics of ethnic differences in the pupils they teach. Second, in understanding ethnic differences, courses in anthropology should prove helpful and should be included in the training of teachers. Third, ethnic groups have a distinct integrity of which educators should be cognizant. As Hewett writes: "A civilization imposed from without is usually harmful, often destructive, and always undesirable. This fact is the keynote to all that should be attempted by way of educating alien races." [Hewett, 1905, p.15-16] In summary, due to the nature, subject, and dates of publication of these two articles, and despite their relative obscurity,[2] they establish Edgar Lee Hewett as the earliest exponent of anthropology and education.[3]

There are two notable ironies in the fact that Hewett is "the father of anthropology and education." First, as the history of anthropology indicates, Hewett's proposal for a "science of man" that addresses itself to educational issues was largely unheeded by the anthropological profession for more than half a century. George Spindler comments: "His articles 'Anthropology and Education' (1904) and 'Ethnic Factors in Education' (1905) in the *American Anthropologist* were the first and almost the last contribution of their kind in that journal." (Spindler, 1961, p.70) This paucity of interest in anthropology and education throughout most of the 20th century was recognized as early as 1939, when Lyman Bryson wrote that few anthropologists had made contributions to the study of education apart from "Professor Hewett's pioneer work in this field" (Bryson, 1939, p. 107). The second irony is that the "father of anthropology and education" was not a cultural anthropologist, but an archaeologist.

Edgar Lee Hewett was perhaps the foremost North American archaeologist of his day (Bloom, 1939; Walter, 1947). He was born in Warren County, Illinois, on 23 November 1865, and spent his early years on an Illinois farm. Later, Hewett moved with his family to Chicago and eventually to Hopkins, Missouri. As Hewett's autobiography, *Two Score Years* (1946), relates, the young Hewett lived quite the life of a country boy. He excelled in schoolwork but also in other things, boxing and baseball among them. It was only after long and serious consideration that Hewett chose an academic career in teaching over an athletic career in baseball. He spent several years as a public school teacher before attaining professional eminence in archaeology. While connected with the Colorado Normal School at Greeley between 1894 and 1898, Hewett undertook his first fieldwork and excavation near Santa Fe, New Mexico. This was the first of numerous operations that Hewett was to undertake throughout the South and North American continents. After accepting the post of president at the Normal University of Las Vegas, New Mexico, Hewett instituted the first college courses in American archaeology (Walter, 1947, p.260). From 1903 to 1908, Hewett attended the University of Geneva, from which he received his doctorate. After a period of service with the Smithsonian Institution, he was chosen in 1906 as the director of American research for the Archaeological Institute of America. He was the founder of the School of American Archaeology (later the School of American Research) at Santa Fe, and was in the vanguard for establishing departments of anthropology and archaeology at many western colleges and universities. For many years, Hewett was a professor and chairman of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque; he retired in 1940. From 1932 until his death on 31 December 1946, Hewett was professor and chairman of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Southern California (Walter, 1947, pp.260-271).

Besides hundreds of published books and articles, Hewett's major archaeological works include *Ancient Life in Mexico and Central America* (1936), *Ancient Andean Life* (1939), and his famous *Ancient Life in the American Southwest* (1930), which has remained in print since its publication. Seen in the light of his subsequent work, Hewett's two anthropology and education articles are early papers, written near the beginning of his career.[4] The two articles represent an enthusiastic belief in the inherent potential of anthropology applied to educational problems as a humanistic endeavor.

Thirty years after his death, as we retrospectively view the maturation of our science, Edgar Lee Hewett's legacy is that he showed us a way. For this, he deserves our acknowledgement.

Notes

1. The "science of man" was Hewett's favorite term (Walter, 1947, p.264). A full elaboration upon this concept is seen in Hewett's address, "The Sciences of Man in the Program of Research" (1934).

2. An anecdote about the obscure status of Hewett's article, "Anthropology and Education" (1904), is that it appeared in the *American Anthropologist* under a prophetically-named column—"Anthropologic Miscellanea."

3. This is not to neglect the intriguing accounts of other individuals whose work we may find fascinating today, if only for their historical interest. Among these publications are Dudley Kidd's book, *Savage Childhood: A Study of Kafir Children* (1906), and J. Owen Dorsey's short paper, "Caddo Customs of Childhood" (1891).

4. A complete list of Hewett's scholarship is contained in Leslie V. Murphey's *Bibliography of Edgar Lee Hewett, 1893-1946* (1947).

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NEW SINGARA EDITOR

Frank Salamone, Department of Anthropology, St. Johns University, Jamaica, New York 11439, has assumed the responsibility for the *Singara* column. Frank is seeking course syllabi for college-level courses in anthropology and education.

NEW ANTHROPOLOGY CURRICULUM PUBLICATIONS

A new publication from the Anthropology Curriculum Project, *Pre-Collegiate Anthropology: Trends and Materials,* by Thomas Dynneson, includes (1) an introduction to the content and structure of anthropology for those unfamiliar with the discipline; (2) an explanation of the rationale for including anthropology in the social studies curriculum; (3) a critical analysis of many important anthropology curriculum projects including Materials and Activities for Teachers and Children, the Educational Development Center, the University of Minnesota Project Social Studies, the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project, and the Anthropology Curriculum Project; (4) essays by three anthropology project directors—Malcolm Collier, Marion J. Rice, and Charles Mitsakos; (5) a bibliography of classroom resources and teacher background materials. Price is $3.00 per copy.

MUSEUM GUIDE

The Education Department of the Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, has published an "Education Guide for Teachers." Their museum education personnel are referred to as *Humiovi,* a Hopi word meaning "little seed that generates."

NEW EDITOR

Elizabeth M. Eddy has been appointed Associate Editor of the *American Anthropologist* for the sub-field of applied anthropology.

PUBLICATIONS

[Ed. Note: This section of the *Quarterly* has been revised in order to assist libraries and CAE members to develop a continuously updated bibliography in anthropology and education by means of annotated references which have *not* been included in the Burnett et al. *Anthropology and Education: Annotated Bibliographic Guide*, nor in previous issues of the CAE *Quarterly*. An additional section will list materials useful in teaching anthropology.]

Teaching Anthropology

Oswald, James M., Marion L. Spitzer, et al. *Man at AQ Kupruk: A Town in Northern Afghanistan.* Intercultural Studies Project, Three Lebanon St., Hanover NH 03755, grades 9-12, 1974.

Oswald, James M., Marion L. Spitzer, et al. *Southeast Asia: Amidst Diversity- Is Unity Possible?* Intercultural Studies Project (see above), 1974, grades 9-12.

Oswald, James M., Marion L. Spitzer, et al. *Urbanization: Cities Around the World.* Intercultural Studies Project (see above), 1974, grades 9-12.

Oswald, James M., Marion L. Spitzer, et al. "Looking at Ourselves." Intercultural Studies Project (see above), 1974, grades 9-12.

Dogrib Indian Life Series. McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 330 Progress Ave., Scarborough, Ontario, Canada.

Potterfield, J. E. "An Analysis of Elementary Children's Ability to Learn Anthropological Content at Grades Four, Five and Six." 61:7 *Journal of Educational Research* 297, March 1968.

This paper presents the results of an experimental study of the ability of fourth through sixth graders to learn materials in an anthropology unit designed for the fourth grade. Results from control and experimental groups in each grade revealed no significant differences between grades. Experimental groups among all grades showed increases in anthropologically-related concepts, reasoning, and vocabulary.

Rogers, Vincent R. "Ethnocentrism and the Social Studies." 49:7 *Phi Delta Kappan* 208, December 1967.

Exploration of the phenomena of ethnocentrism through "loaded words," inadequate consideration of cultural context, stereotypes, and so on, apparent in contemporary social studies literature. The author suggests that a framework of cultural relativity is needed to help students react to human variability with greater understanding and sympathy.

DISSERTATIONS

Archibald, Robert Donald. "Cross-Cultural Communication: An Interpersonal Perspective." Univ. of Utah, 1971.

This study attempts to identify some dimensions along which effective intercultural relations can be characterized. Analysis of responses from students and teachers on several indexes of cultural sensitivity provides information on both characteristics found to be conducive to intercultural communication and on the effects of such characteristics on student-teacher relationships.

Braulio, Ana Ines. "The Cross-Cultural Use of Educational Methods and Techniques With Adults." Indiana Univ., 1971.

The purpose of this investigation was to establish criteria for determining the effectiveness of educational methods for adults in different cultural contexts. Communicative and cognitive educational techniques were defined. Differences in cultural orientation were related to each of these techniques. The author concluded that a relationship existed between cultural background, cognitive processes, and the ability to participate in particular educational methods and techniques. An awareness of these relationships was suggested.

Cleveland, John Lewis. "The Helping Role of American Education Advisors in a West African Country." Wayne State Univ., 1972.

This study focuses on advisory relationships in education by examining the nature of the helping role of American

educational advisors in Monrovia, Liberia. The author provides a number of suggestions to assist in structuring the role of educational advisor in both a foreign and domestic context.

Durfey, Calvin R. "An Evaluation of Bilingual Education with a Cross-Cultural Emphasis Designed for Navajo and Non-Navajo Students in San Juan County, Utah." Brigham Young Univ., 1971.

The purpose of this study was to determine if differences existed in academic achievement and oral English development between students participating in a bilingual educational program and students enrolled in conventional educational programs. Results from analysis of pre- and post-test scores given to kindergarten through second grade students showed the experimental group equaling or surpassing the control group in achievement for the kindergarten and first grade levels. Minor differences were apparent in English development.

Goba, Theresa Codera. "Concerns of Teacher Education Students: A Cross-Cultural Approach." Pennsylvania State Univ., 1971.

This study compares the concerns of teacher education students in the countries of the United States and the Philippines, and attempts to explore the direction to which cultural differences may be reflected in selected personality traits. Analysis of test scores from beginning and advanced students in both cultures are compared. It is concluded that cultural differences account for more variances between the two groups than level of training.

Seymour, James Madison. "The Rural School and Rural Development Among the Iban of Sarawak, Malaysia." Stanford Univ., 1972.

This study attempts to define relationships between the values of a modern educational system and those of a rural community, and possible sources of reinforcement and conflict in role relationships between members of each system. Using both ethnographic and survey techniques, the author finds strong inconsistencies between government, home and teacher expectations on educational objectives and techniques. This situation may be expected to continue, he points out, until parents perceive greater relevance between school preparation and local needs.

Smith, Bernard Shelton. "Evaluation of the Carnegie Exchange Program's Cross-Cultural Experience Component: An Appraisal of the Experiences of Eighteen White Students on a Predominately Black University Campus." Florida State Univ., 1972.

This study evaluates a cross-cultural educational program designed to prepare non-black students for understanding and working productively with black people. Among findings revealed by pre- and post-test scores were that students living off-campus had a higher initial score regarding blacks than students living on campus, that this latter group made more significant gains in positive attitude change, and that "human-relations" seminars were thought to be most productive by program participants.

Anthropological Study of Education

Abbott, Freeland. "The Makatab of Bahawalpur." *Saturday Review*, 15 July 1961.

Narrative describing educational change in West Pakistan. A plan to use religious institutions as schools and local religious leaders as teachers is discussed through the initial opposition and ultimate compromise permitting the venture ro proceed.

"Anthropology and Language Science in Educational Development." No. 11, *Educational Studies and Documents*. Paris: UNESCO, 1973.

This publication consists of 13 papers presented at a UNESCO conference on curriculum planning and development held in 1971. General topics of discussion include the contribution of educational anthropology and sociolinguistics to educational development, and the role of linguistics and sociolinguistics in language educational planning.

Aogbin, I. *The Island of Menstruating Men*. Chandler, 1970, ch. V, p. 100.

This chapter describes the male initiation ceremonies among the Wogeo Islanders off the New Guinea north coast. The sequencing of a variety of ceremonies which involve body mutilation provide a mechanism for age grading and the corresponding increase of obligations.

Ball, Douglas G. "Education of the Maori." 10 *Educational Leadership* 15, October 1952.

The importance of adapting education to sociocultural background is discussed. Problems encountered in imposing British education on the Maori provide the basis for illustrating the need for educational policies and practices to accommodate the needs of native peoples.

Curle, Adam. "Some Aspects of Educational Planning in Underdeveloped Areas." 32:3 *Harvard Educational Review* 293, Summer 1962.

The relationship between education and other aspects of social and economic planning is considered. Topics include education and the social structure, economic considerations of educational planning, and a general strategy for educational expansion.

Dodd, William. "Centralization in Education in Mainland Tanzania." 12 *Comparative Education Review* 268, October 1968.

The changes that have taken place in the organization, administration and control of education in Tanzania since 1961 are discussed. The policies of integration and centralization, in particular, and their relationship to political policies in this country are emphasized.

Edman, Marian and Hyun Ki Paik. "Primary Education in a Developing Country: Korea, A Case Study." 45:1 *Educational Horizons* 13, Fall 1966.

This article attempts to assess the status of educational expansion policies in Korea. Included is a brief overview of the history of formal education in the area, descriptive statistics on educational expansion, and a discussion of some of the problems found with contemporary educational policies.

Educational Leadership, Vol. 27, No. 2, December 1969.

This entire volume is devoted to discussions on "International Cooperation in Education." Among the topics included are the notion of "quality" and the development of educational programs, education in Africa, multinational cooperation in educational development, and cultural relativity and educational policies and research.

Eisenstadt, S. N. "Changing Patterns of Youth Protest in Different Stages of Development of Modern Societies." 1 *Youth and Society* 133, Dec. 1969.

Paper deals with the sociocultural conditions for the growth and development of youth rebellion. This development, the author contends, is closely related with the impact of cultural change, and structural change in the family and occupational framework of the society. Includes a discussion of the common characteristics of youth cultures, general societal reactions to such tendencies, the impact of institutional change as well as a contrast between historical and modern forms of youth protest.

Elliot, William Y. *Education and Training in the Developing Countries.* NYC: Frederich A. Praeger, Pub., 1966.

Recruitment and training of leadership in developing nations is examined in a wide-ranging inquiry into the philosophic, political and economic implications of this task. Emphasis is on the role of United States agencies in this process including the place of government programs, universities, foundations and private foundations in the development of educational programs. Chapter II, in particular, examines some of the cultural implications of leadership training and provides some specific suggestions for assisting with program development.

Ether, J. A. "Cultural Pluralism and Self-Identity." 27 *Educ. Leadership* 232, Dec. 1969.

Cultural pluralism in the school is explored in terms of its implication for the development of self-concept. Includes a discussion of the "melting-pot" issue and the need to recognize existent cultural diversity. Cultural diversity, cultural pluralism, and cultural supremacy are suggested as basic problems that must be faced by educators.

Evans, David R. *Teachers as Agents of National Development: A Case Study of Uganda.* NYC: Praeger Pub., 1971.

This book concentrates on the effects of diversity on national development through the impact of differences in education, nationality, and cultural background among teachers. Employing a national sample of teachers classified in terms of these three criteria, the author finds significant differences in attitudes towards national development between different "teacher types." The implications of these findings are discussed in terms of the teacher's potential to further political goals.

Farrell, Joseph P. "The Structural Differentiation of Developing Educational Systems: A Latin American Comparison." 13 *Comparative Education Review* 294, October 1969.

Guttman scalogram analysis is used to develop measures of structural differentiation of educational systems. Scales are presented for Latin America nations and 49 developing nations for 1960. In addition, separate sub-scales dealing with secondary, higher, special and rural or agricultural education are developed and tested.

Griffiths, V. L. "Introducing Change in Primary Schools: A Cautionary Experience." 2 *Prospects in Education* 47, UNESCO, Paris, 1969.

Problems of restructuring an elementary school system in Sudan are discussed. Realistic educational objectives, appropriate curriculum, and a careful general education for teacher candidates are suggested as vital to successful change. Also includes a discussion of the need to establish confidence and a desire for reform among both educational personnel and the general public. Constant yet gradual change is seen as essential to successful growth.

Hall, Edward T. "Listening Behavior: Some Cultural Differences." 50 *Phi Delta Kappan* 379, March 1969.

The importance of cultural patterning on listening behavior is discussed. Illustrations from the Navajo and Black cultures provides the basis for pointing out how misinterpretation of listening behavior may seriously detract from understanding and communicating.

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